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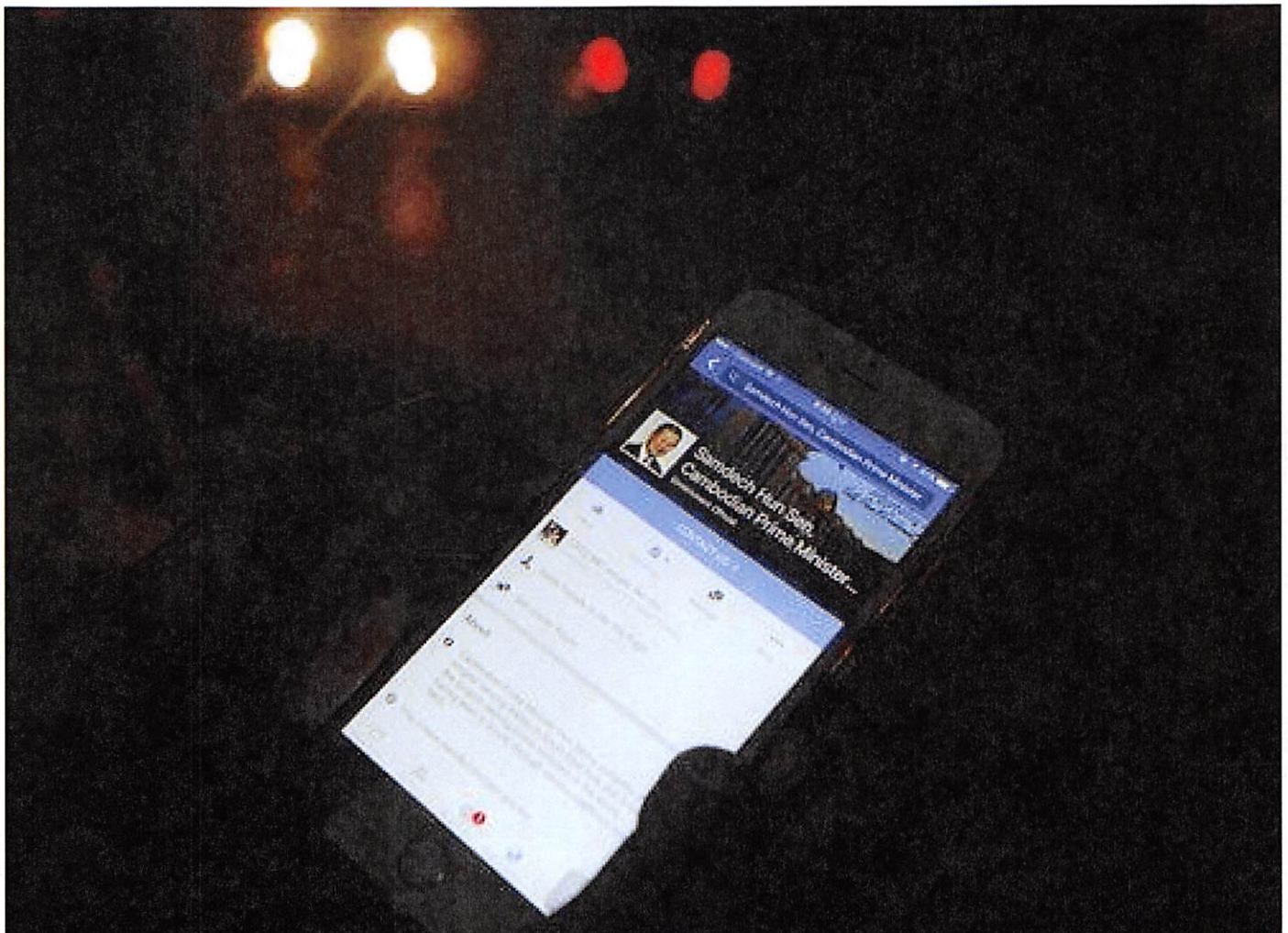
WORLD

Cambodia leaders rev up Facebook rivalry as popularity soars

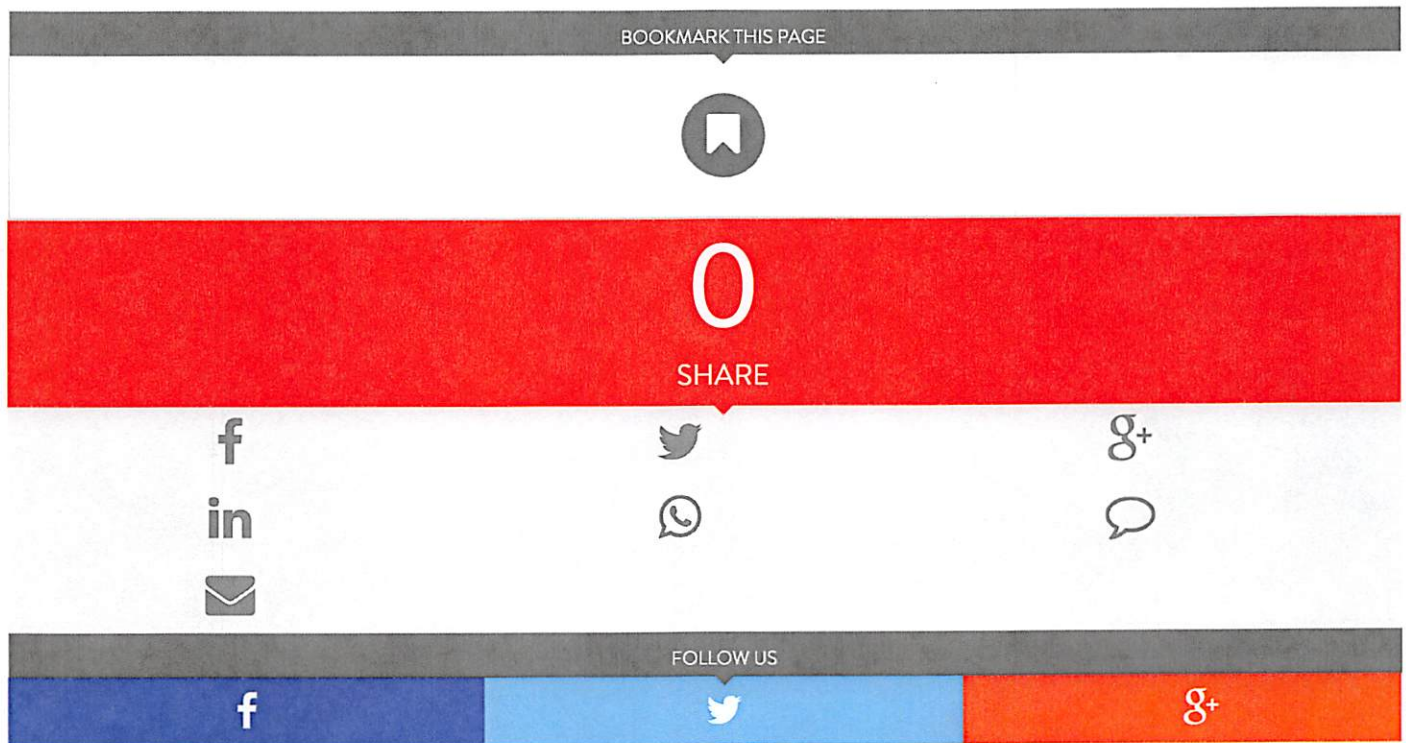
Elaine Kurtenbach and Sopheng Cheang

The Jakarta Post

Phnom Penh | Thu, March 3, 2016 | 06:27 pm



A man views Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen's Facebook page on his mobile phone at a side walk in downtown Phnom Penh, Cambodia, March 1. (AP/Heng Sinith) (AP/Heng Sinith)



A man views Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen's Facebook page on his mobile phone at a side walk in downtown Phnom Penh, Cambodia, March 1. (AP/Heng Sinith)

Cambodia's long-ruling Prime Minister Hun Sen and exiled opposition leader Sam Rainsy have gotten an early start on campaigning for elections in 2018, vying for "likes" in Facebook as the political role of social media grows among the country's youthful electorate.

Both Hun Sen and Sam Rainsy tend to favor a casual approach, like Sam Rainsy riding a bicycle in the snow, or standing at the beach in a swimsuit. Hun Sen, swathed in a plush white terrycloth bathrobe, clutching two mobile phones in the dark; sitting on the ground eating noodles, watering flowers, or hugging his grandchildren.

"Technology can make you ubiquitous," said one of Sam Rainsy's recent posts. Given his nearly daily updates from villages, ceremonies and golf courses, Hun Sen appears to agree.

With a general election due in 2018 and local polls next year, Hun Sen increasingly is using Facebook as a way to answer public complaints, monitor dissent and polish his public image. On Feb. 8, he ordered government officials to set up a working group to track citizens' complaints and appeals.

"We are in a pre-election campaign already," said Jonathan Bogais, an expert on Southeast Asia at the University of Sydney. "Hun Sen knows it will be very difficult so he is taking action early."

Cambodia got a late start: Software enabling use of the local language Khmer script was only developed about a decade ago. But since then the country has leapfrogged straight into digital politics.

Now, almost all adults in Cambodia own mobile phones and nearly a third say they have Facebook accounts, according to an Asia Foundation study compiled in 2015.

More Cambodians rely on Facebook for news than on the radio, though television still is their leading source of information, the Asia Foundation study showed.

Cambodia has not invested in the kinds of sophisticated surveillance technology used to police the Internet in communist-ruled China, and is unlikely to do so, says Tharum Bui a blogger and communications specialist based in Phnom Penh.

"I believe the government won't go down that road because it's going to be a significant setback to do that," he said. "A win-win strategic approach is to utilize the Internet, Facebook and digital platforms for social listening as well as for a modern-time media machine."

It's impossible to know how accurate a measure of popularity Facebook "likes" can provide. Most popular in Cambodia, as of Tuesday, was Voice of America in Khmer, with nearly 3 million "likes." Hun Sen had 2.84 million and Sam Rainsy had 2.2 million, substantial followings for a country of about 15 million people.

Hun Sen's grandfatherly images on Facebook belie his reputation as a sometimes ruthless ruler. Social media can also be a potent weapon for damaging reputations.

Over three decades in power, Hun Sen has long exerted strong control over traditional media, and expressing public dissent in Cambodia remains risky. The government has tightened controls on telecommunications and threatens prosecution of online critics, especially those commenting on Hun Sen and his family.

But while the government still engages in violent repression at times, Hun Sen is a master of political strategy and mindful of the changing mindsets of Cambodians, apparently viewing Facebook as a way to exert control in a subtler, nonviolent way.

"Now he faces a very different situation with social media. It cannot be controlled through hard repression," Bogais said. "He has to ensure he takes control and reinforces a 'benevolent autocrat' image."

Hun Sen denied that a Facebook page set up after his party lost more than 20 parliamentary seats to Sam Rainsy's Cambodia National Rescue Party in a 2013 election was his, until September, when after his page logged more than 1.3 million "likes" he started posting frequent updates.

"All Cambodian compatriots, for the sake of our country's progress, especially to promote people's livelihoods, please join with Hun Sen to prevent and eradicate corruption by sending messages or documents to this 'inbox'," he said in a post Monday.

Sam Rainsy, cut off from traditional media and facing possible arrest if he returns home has little choice but to rely on his Facebook page and other alternatives.

Both men's posts are aimed at younger Cambodians who form nearly 40 percent of the electorate, grew up as their country opened to the outside world and aspire for more. Older Cambodians still haunted by the bloody rule of the Khmer Rouge in the 1970s, when about a quarter of the population died from torture, overwork, starvation, executions and illness, may be more satisfied with peace and growing prosperity, said Bogais.

Social media is opening Cambodia in positive ways, Tharum Bun said.

"To be a popular digital democracy ruler on Facebook, Cambodian leaders have to be more accountable and transparent to their citizens," he said. "Who reads press releases anymore when a picture worth a thousand words can potentially go viral?"



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EXHIBIT 13



W (/) / Population (/population/) / Population by Country

Countries in the world by population (2017)

This list includes both **countries** and **dependent territories**. Data based on the latest *United Nations Population Division* estimates. Click on the name of the country or dependency for current estimates (live population clock), historical data, and projected figures. See also: World Population (/world-population/)

#	Country (or dependency)	Search: <input type="text"/>				
		Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km ²)	Land (K)
1	China (/world-population/china-population/)	1,409,517,397	0.43 %	6,017,032	150	9,
2	India (/world-population/india-population/)	1,339,180,127	1.13 %	15,008,773	450	2,
3	U.S. (/world-population/us-population/)	324,459,463	0.71 %	2,279,858	35	9,
4	Indonesia (/world-population/indonesia-population/)	263,991,379	1.10 %	2,875,923	146	1,
5	Brazil (/world-population/brazil-population/)	209,288,278	0.79 %	1,635,413	25	8,
6	Pakistan (/world-population/pakistan-population/)	197,015,955	1.97 %	3,812,479	256	
7	Nigeria (/world-population/nigeria-population/)	190,886,311	2.63 %	4,896,671	210	
8	Bangladesh (/world-population/bangladesh-population/)	164,669,751	1.05 %	1,718,191	1,265	
9	Russia (/world-population/russia-population/)	143,989,754	0.02 %	25,241	9	16,
10	Mexico (/world-population/mexico-population/)	129,163,276	1.27 %	1,622,853	66	1,
11	Japan (/world-population/japan-population/)	127,484,450	-0.21 %	-264,063	350	
12	Ethiopia (/world-population/ethiopia-population/)	104,957,438	2.49 %	2,554,242	105	1,
13	Philippines (/world-population/philippines-population/)	104,918,090	1.55 %	1,597,868	352	
14	Egypt (/world-population/egypt-population/)	97,553,151	1.95 %	1,864,470	98	
15	Viet Nam (/world-population/vietnam-population/)	95,540,800	1.03 %	971,728	308	
16	Germany (/world-population/germany-population/)	82,114,224	0.24 %	199,552	236	
17	DR Congo (/world-population/democratic-republic-of-the-congo-population/)	81,339,988	3.31 %	2,603,835	36	2,
18	Iran (/world-population/iran-population/)	81,162,788	1.10 %	885,360	50	1,
19	Turkey (/world-population/turkey-population/)	80,745,020	1.55 %	1,232,594	105	
20	Thailand (/world-population/thailand-population/)	69,037,513	0.25 %	173,999	135	
21	U.K. (/world-population/uk-population/)	66,181,585	0.60 %	393,011	274	
22	France (/world-population/france-population/)	64,979,548	0.40 %	258,858	119	
23	Italy (/world-population/italy-population/)	59,359,900	-0.12 %	-70,038	202	
24	Tanzania (/world-population/tanzania-population/)	57,310,019	3.13 %	1,737,818	65	
25	South Africa (/world-population/south-africa-population/)	56,717,156	1.25 %	701,683	47	1,
26	Myanmar (/world-population/myanmar-population/)	53,370,609	0.92 %	485,386	82	
27	South Korea (/world-population/south-korea-population/)	50,982,212	0.37 %	190,293	524	
28	Kenya (/world-population/kenya-population/)	49,699,862	2.56 %	1,238,295	87	
29	Colombia (/world-population/colombia-population/)	49,065,615	0.85 %	412,196	44	1,
30	Spain (/world-population/spain-population/)	46,354,321	0.01 %	6,745	93	
31	Argentina (/world-population/argentina-population/)	44,271,041	0.97 %	423,611	16	2,
32	Ukraine (/world-population/ukraine-population/)	44,222,947	-0.49 %	-215,678	76	
33	Uganda (/world-population/uganda-population/)	42,862,958	3.31 %	1,374,993	215	
34	Algeria (/world-population/algeria-population/)	41,318,142	1.75 %	712,090	17	2,
35	Sudan (/world-population/sudan-population/)	40,533,330	2.41 %	954,502	23	1,
36	Iraq (/world-population/iraq-population/)	38,274,618	2.88 %	1,072,046	88	

#	Country (or dependency)	Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km²)	Land (Ki)
37	Poland (/world-population/poland-population/)	38,170,712	-0.14 %	-53,698	125	
38	Canada (/world-population/canada-population/)	36,624,199	0.92 %	334,377	4	9,
39	Morocco (/world-population/morocco-population/)	35,739,580	1.31 %	462,794	80	
40	Afghanistan (/world-population/afghanistan-population/)	35,530,081	2.52 %	874,049	54	
41	Saudi Arabia (/world-population/saudi-arabia-population/)	32,938,213	2.05 %	662,526	15	2,
42	Peru (/world-population/peru-population/)	32,165,485	1.23 %	391,646	25	1,
43	Venezuela (/world-population/venezuela-population/)	31,977,065	1.30 %	408,886	36	
44	Uzbekistan (/world-population/uzbekistan-population/)	31,910,641	1.48 %	463,846	75	
45	Malaysia (/world-population/malaysia-population/)	31,624,264	1.40 %	436,999	96	
46	Angola (/world-population/angola-population/)	29,784,193	3.37 %	970,730	24	1,
47	Mozambique (/world-population/mozambique-population/)	29,668,834	2.91 %	839,358	38	
48	Nepal (/world-population/nepal-population/)	29,304,998	1.11 %	322,227	204	
49	Ghana (/world-population/ghana-population/)	28,833,629	2.22 %	626,901	127	
50	Yemen (/world-population/yemen-population/)	28,250,420	2.42 %	666,207	54	
51	Madagascar (/world-population/madagascar-population/)	25,570,895	2.72 %	676,344	44	
52	North Korea (/world-population/north-korea-population/)	25,490,965	0.48 %	122,345	212	
53	Australia (/world-population/australia-population/)	24,450,561	1.35 %	324,713	3	7,
54	Côte d'Ivoire (/world-population/cote-d-ivoire-population/)	24,294,750	2.53 %	598,831	76	
55	Cameroon (/world-population/cameroon-population/)	24,053,727	2.62 %	614,538	51	
56	Taiwan (/world-population/taiwan-population/)	23,626,456	0.30 %	69,750	667	
57	Niger (/world-population/niger-population/)	21,477,348	3.89 %	804,361	17	1,
58	Sri Lanka (/world-population/sri-lanka-population/)	20,876,917	0.38 %	78,425	333	
59	Romania (/world-population/romania-population/)	19,679,306	-0.50 %	-98,777	85	
60	Burkina Faso (/world-population/burkina-faso-population/)	19,193,382	2.93 %	546,949	70	
61	Malawi (/world-population/malawi-population/)	18,622,104	2.93 %	530,529	198	
62	Mali (/world-population/mali-population/)	18,541,980	3.04 %	547,143	15	1,
63	Syria (/world-population/syria-population/)	18,269,868	-0.87 %	-160,585	99	
64	Kazakhstan (/world-population/kazakhstan-population/)	18,204,499	1.21 %	216,763	7	2,
65	Chile (/world-population/chile-population/)	18,054,726	0.81 %	144,972	24	
66	Zambia (/world-population/zambia-population/)	17,094,130	3.03 %	502,740	23	
67	Netherlands (/world-population/netherlands-population/)	17,035,938	0.29 %	48,608	505	
68	Guatemala (/world-population/guatemala-population/)	16,913,503	2.00 %	331,034	158	
69	Ecuador (/world-population/ecuador-population/)	16,624,858	1.46 %	239,790	67	
70	Zimbabwe (/world-population/zimbabwe-population/)	16,529,904	2.35 %	379,542	43	
71	Cambodia (/world-population/cambodia-population/)	16,005,373	1.54 %	243,003	91	
72	Senegal (/world-population/senegal-population/)	15,850,567	2.85 %	438,953	82	
73	Chad (/world-population/chad-population/)	14,899,994	3.10 %	447,451	12	1,
74	Somalia (/world-population/somalia-population/)	14,742,523	2.96 %	424,527	24	
75	Guinea (/world-population/guinea-population/)	12,717,176	2.59 %	321,252	52	
76	South Sudan (/world-population/south-sudan-population/)	12,575,714	2.82 %	344,984	21	
77	Rwanda (/world-population/rwanda-population/)	12,208,407	2.44 %	290,899	495	
78	Tunisia (/world-population/tunisia-population/)	11,532,127	1.13 %	128,879	74	
79	Cuba (/world-population/cuba-population/)	11,484,636	0.08 %	8,654	108	
80	Belgium (/world-population/belgium-population/)	11,429,336	0.62 %	70,957	377	
81	Benin (/world-population/benin-population/)	11,175,692	2.79 %	303,394	99	
82	Greece (/world-population/greece-population/)	11,159,773	-0.21 %	-23,943	87	
83	Bolivia (/world-population/bolivia-population/)	11,051,600	1.50 %	163,718	10	1,

#	Country (or dependency)	Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km²)	Land (Ki
84	Haiti (/world-population/haiti-population/)	10,981,229	1.23 %	133,895	398	
85	Burundi (/world-population/burundi-population/)	10,864,245	3.23 %	340,128	423	
86	Dominican Republic (/world-population/dominican-republic-population/)	10,766,998	1.11 %	118,207	223	
87	Czech Republic (/world-population/czech-republic-population/)	10,618,303	0.07 %	7,356	137	
88	Portugal (/world-population/portugal-population/)	10,329,506	-0.41 %	-42,121	113	
89	Sweden (/world-population/sweden-population/)	9,910,701	0.74 %	73,168	24	
90	Azerbaijan (/world-population/azerbaijan-population/)	9,827,589	1.05 %	102,213	119	
91	Hungary (/world-population/hungary-population/)	9,721,559	-0.33 %	-31,722	107	
92	Jordan (/world-population/jordan-population/)	9,702,353	2.61 %	246,551	109	
93	Belarus (/world-population/belarus-population/)	9,468,338	-0.12 %	-11,704	47	
94	United Arab Emirates (/world-population/united-arab-emirates-population/)	9,400,145	1.41 %	130,533	112	
95	Honduras (/world-population/honduras-population/)	9,265,067	1.67 %	152,200	83	
96	Tajikistan (/world-population/tajikistan-population/)	8,921,343	2.13 %	186,392	64	
97	Serbia (/world-population/serbia-population/)	8,790,574	-0.33 %	-29,509	101	
98	Austria (/world-population/austria-population/)	8,735,453	0.27 %	23,316	106	
99	Switzerland (/world-population/switzerland-population/)	8,476,005	0.88 %	74,266	214	
100	Israel (/world-population/israel-population/)	8,321,570	1.58 %	129,742	385	
101	Papua New Guinea (/world-population/papua-new-guinea-population/)	8,251,162	2.06 %	166,171	18	
102	Togo (/world-population/togo-population/)	7,797,694	2.52 %	191,320	143	
103	Sierra Leone (/world-population/sierra-leone-population/)	7,557,212	2.18 %	161,022	105	
104	Hong Kong (/world-population/china-hong-kong-sar-population/)	7,364,883	0.85 %	62,040	7,014	
105	Bulgaria (/world-population/bulgaria-population/)	7,084,571	-0.66 %	-46,923	65	
106	Laos (/world-population/laos-population/)	6,858,160	1.48 %	99,807	30	
107	Paraguay (/world-population/paraguay-population/)	6,811,297	1.28 %	85,989	17	
108	El Salvador (/world-population/el-salvador-population/)	6,377,853	0.52 %	33,131	308	
109	Libya (/world-population/libya-population/)	6,374,616	1.29 %	81,363	4	1,
110	Nicaragua (/world-population/nicaragua-population/)	6,217,581	1.10 %	67,653	52	
111	Lebanon (/world-population/lebanon-population/)	6,082,357	1.26 %	75,689	595	
112	Kyrgyzstan (/world-population/kyrgyzstan-population/)	6,045,117	1.50 %	89,383	32	
113	Turkmenistan (/world-population/turkmenistan-population/)	5,758,075	1.69 %	95,531	12	
114	Denmark (/world-population/denmark-population/)	5,733,551	0.38 %	21,681	135	
115	Singapore (/world-population/singapore-population/)	5,708,844	1.54 %	86,389	8,155	
116	Finland (/world-population/finland-population/)	5,523,231	0.37 %	20,099	18	
117	Slovakia (/world-population/slovakia-population/)	5,447,662	0.06 %	3,444	113	
118	Norway (/world-population/norway-population/)	5,305,383	0.96 %	50,689	15	
119	Congo (/world-population/congo-population/)	5,260,750	2.63 %	134,929	15	
120	Eritrea (/world-population/eritrea-population/)	5,068,831	2.30 %	114,186	50	
121	State of Palestine (/world-population/state-of-palestine-population/)	4,920,724	2.71 %	130,019	817	
122	Costa Rica (/world-population/costa-rica-population/)	4,905,769	1.00 %	48,495	96	
123	Ireland (/world-population/ireland-population/)	4,761,657	0.75 %	35,579	69	
124	Liberia (/world-population/liberia-population/)	4,731,906	2.56 %	118,083	49	
125	New Zealand (/world-population/new-zealand-population/)	4,705,818	0.97 %	44,985	18	
126	Central African Republic (/world-population/central-african-republic-population/)	4,659,080	1.40 %	64,459	7	
127	Oman (/world-population/oman-population/)	4,636,262	4.78 %	211,500	15	
128	Mauritania (/world-population/mauritania-population/)	4,420,184	2.77 %	119,166	4	1,
129	Croatia (/world-population/croatia-population/)	4,189,353	-0.57 %	-23,912	75	
130	Kuwait (/world-population/kuwait-population/)	4,136,528	2.07 %	83,944	232	

#	Country (or dependency)	Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km²)	Land (Ki
131	Panama (/world-population/panama-population/)	4,098,587	1.60 %	64,468	55	
132	Moldova (/world-population/moldova-population/)	4,051,212	-0.21 %	-8,396	123	
133	Georgia (/world-population/georgia-population/)	3,912,061	-0.34 %	-13,344	56	
134	Puerto Rico (/world-population/puerto-rico-population/)	3,663,131	-0.13 %	-4,772	413	
135	Bosnia & Herzegovina (/world-population/bosnia-and-herzegovina-population/)	3,507,017	-0.28 %	-9,799	69	
136	Uruguay (/world-population/uruguay-population/)	3,456,750	0.37 %	12,744	20	
137	Mongolia (/world-population/mongolia-population/)	3,075,647	1.59 %	48,249	2	1,
138	Armenia (/world-population/armenia-population/)	2,930,450	0.19 %	5,634	103	
139	Albania (/world-population/albania-population/)	2,930,187	0.13 %	3,839	107	
140	Jamaica (/world-population/jamaica-population/)	2,890,299	0.31 %	8,944	267	
141	Lithuania (/world-population/lithuania-population/)	2,890,297	-0.62 %	-17,952	46	
142	Qatar (/world-population/qatar-population/)	2,639,211	2.70 %	69,407	227	
143	Namibia (/world-population/namibia-population/)	2,533,794	2.18 %	54,081	3	
144	Botswana (/world-population/botswana-population/)	2,291,661	1.84 %	41,401	4	
145	Lesotho (/world-population/lesotho-population/)	2,233,339	1.34 %	29,518	74	
146	Gambia (/world-population/gambia-population/)	2,100,568	3.04 %	62,067	208	
147	TFYR Macedonia (/world-population/macedonia-population/)	2,083,160	0.09 %	1,954	83	
148	Slovenia (/world-population/slovenia-population/)	2,079,976	0.10 %	2,114	103	
149	Gabon (/world-population/gabon-population/)	2,025,137	2.29 %	45,351	8	
150	Latvia (/world-population/latvia-population/)	1,949,670	-1.06 %	-20,860	31	
151	Guinea-Bissau (/world-population/guinea-bissau-population/)	1,861,283	2.51 %	45,585	66	
152	Bahrain (/world-population/bahrain-population/)	1,492,584	4.73 %	67,413	1,964	
153	Trinidad and Tobago (/world-population/trinidad-and-tobago-population/)	1,369,125	0.30 %	4,163	267	
154	Swaziland (/world-population/swaziland-population/)	1,367,254	1.80 %	24,156	79	
155	Estonia (/world-population/estonia-population/)	1,309,632	-0.21 %	-2,810	31	
156	Timor-Leste (/world-population/timor-leste-population/)	1,296,311	2.18 %	27,640	87	
157	Equatorial Guinea (/world-population/equatorial-guinea-population/)	1,267,689	3.78 %	46,199	45	
158	Mauritius (/world-population/mauritius-population/)	1,265,138	0.24 %	3,006	623	
159	Cyprus (/world-population/cyprus-population/)	1,179,551	0.81 %	9,426	128	
160	Djibouti (/world-population/djibouti-population/)	956,985	1.55 %	14,652	41	
161	Fiji (/world-population/fiji-population/)	905,502	0.75 %	6,742	50	
162	Réunion (/world-population/reunion-population/)	876,562	0.76 %	6,637	351	
163	Comoros (/world-population/comoros-population/)	813,912	2.30 %	18,311	437	
164	Bhutan (/world-population/bhutan-population/)	807,610	1.23 %	9,845	21	
165	Guyana (/world-population/guyana-population/)	777,859	0.59 %	4,556	4	
166	Montenegro (/world-population/montenegro-population/)	628,960	0.05 %	345	47	
167	Macao (/world-population/china-macao-sar-population/)	622,567	1.70 %	10,400	20,752	
168	Solomon Islands (/world-population/solomon-islands-population/)	611,343	1.99 %	11,924	22	
169	Luxembourg (/world-population/luxembourg-population/)	583,455	1.34 %	7,708	225	
170	Suriname (/world-population/suriname-population/)	563,402	0.90 %	5,034	4	
171	Western Sahara (/world-population/western-sahara-population/)	552,628	2.58 %	13,873	2	
172	Cabo Verde (/world-population/cabo-verde-population/)	546,388	1.27 %	6,828	136	
173	Guadeloupe (/world-population/guadeloupe-population/)	449,568	-0.09 %	-407	266	
174	Maldives (/world-population/maldives-population/)	436,330	2.00 %	8,574	1,454	
175	Malta (/world-population/malta-population/)	430,835	0.34 %	1,473	1,346	
176	Brunei (/world-population/brunei-darussalam-population/)	428,697	1.30 %	5,501	81	
177	Bahamas (/world-population/bahamas-population/)	395,361	1.06 %	4,129	39	

#	Country (or dependency)	Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km²)	Land (Ki)
178	Martinique (/world-population/martinique-population/)	384,896	-0.05 %	-207	363	
179	Belize (/world-population/belize-population/)	374,681	2.11 %	7,727	16	
180	Iceland (/world-population/iceland-population/)	335,025	0.77 %	2,551	3	
181	Barbados (/world-population/barbados-population/)	285,719	0.25 %	723	664	
182	French Polynesia (/world-population/french-polynesia-population/)	283,007	1.00 %	2,799	77	
183	French Guiana (/world-population/french-guiana-population/)	282,731	2.55 %	7,018	3	
184	New Caledonia (/world-population/new-caledonia-population/)	276,255	1.31 %	3,578	15	
185	Vanuatu (/world-population/vanuatu-population/)	276,244	2.16 %	5,842	23	
186	Mayotte (/world-population/mayotte-population/)	253,045	2.66 %	6,556	675	
187	Sao Tome & Principe (/world-population/sao-tome-and-principe-population/)	204,327	2.21 %	4,417	213	
188	Samoa (/world-population/samoa-population/)	196,440	0.67 %	1,315	69	
189	Saint Lucia (/world-population/saint-lucia-population/)	178,844	0.47 %	829	293	
190	Channel Islands (/world-population/channel-islands-population/)	165,314	0.47 %	773	870	
191	Guam (/world-population/guam-population/)	164,229	0.82 %	1,333	304	
192	Curaçao (/world-population/curacao-population/)	160,539	0.73 %	1,168	362	
193	Kiribati (/world-population/kiribati-population/)	116,398	1.75 %	2,003	144	
194	St. Vincent & Grenadines (/world-population/saint-vincent-and-the-grenadines-population/)	109,897	0.23 %	254	282	
195	Tonga (/world-population/tonga-population/)	108,020	0.84 %	898	150	
196	Grenada (/world-population/grenada-population/)	107,825	0.47 %	508	317	
197	Micronesia (/world-population/micronesia-population/)	105,544	0.58 %	607	151	
198	Aruba (/world-population/aruba-population/)	105,264	0.42 %	442	585	
199	U.S. Virgin Islands (/world-population/united-states-virgin-islands-population/)	104,901	-0.01 %	-12	300	
200	Antigua and Barbuda (/world-population/antigua-and-barbuda-population/)	102,012	1.04 %	1,049	232	
201	Seychelles (/world-population/seychelles-population/)	94,737	0.54 %	509	206	
202	Isle of Man (/world-population/isle-of-man-population/)	84,287	0.66 %	550	148	
203	Andorra (/world-population/andorra-population/)	76,965	-0.41 %	-316	164	
204	Dominica (/world-population/dominica-population/)	73,925	0.52 %	382	99	
205	Cayman Islands (/world-population/cayman-islands-population/)	61,559	1.31 %	794	256	
206	Bermuda (/world-population/bermuda-population/)	61,349	-0.51 %	-317	1,227	
207	Greenland (/world-population/greenland-population/)	56,480	0.12 %	68	0	
208	American Samoa (/world-population/american-samoa-population/)	55,641	0.08 %	42	278	
209	Saint Kitts & Nevis (/world-population/saint-kitts-and-nevis-population/)	55,345	0.96 %	524	213	
210	Northern Mariana Islands (/world-population/northern-mariana-islands-population/)	55,144	0.22 %	121	120	
211	Marshall Islands (/world-population/marshall-islands-population/)	53,127	0.11 %	61	295	
212	Faeroe Islands (/world-population/faeroe-islands-population/)	49,290	0.35 %	173	35	
213	Sint Maarten (/world-population/sint-maarten-population/)	40,120	1.47 %	583	1,180	
214	Monaco (/world-population/monaco-population/)	38,695	0.51 %	196	25,970	
215	Liechtenstein (/world-population/liechtenstein-population/)	37,922	0.68 %	256	237	
216	Turks and Caicos (/world-population/turks-and-caicos-islands-population/)	35,446	1.56 %	546	37	
217	Gibraltar (/world-population/gibraltar-population/)	34,571	0.47 %	163	3,457	
218	San Marino (/world-population/san-marino-population/)	33,400	0.59 %	197	557	
219	British Virgin Islands (/world-population/british-virgin-islands-population/)	31,196	1.74 %	535	208	
220	Caribbean Netherlands (/world-population/caribbean-netherlands-population/)	25,398	1.51 %	379	77	
221	Palau (/world-population/palau-population/)	21,729	1.05 %	226	47	
222	Cook Islands (/world-population/cook-islands-population/)	17,380	0.01 %	1	72	
223	Anguilla (/world-population/anguilla-population/)	14,909	0.98 %	145	166	
224	Wallis & Futuna (/world-population/wallis-and-futuna-islands-population/)	11,773	-1.06 %	-126	84	

#	Country (or dependency)	Population (2017)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km²)	Land (Ki
225	Nauru (/world-population/nauru-population/)	11,359	0.11 %	12	568	
226	Tuvalu (/world-population/tuvalu-population/)	11,192	0.86 %	95	373	
227	Saint Pierre & Miquelon (/world-population/saint-pierre-and-miquelon-population/)	6,320	0.24 %	15	27	
228	Montserrat (/world-population/montserrat-population/)	5,177	0.49 %	25	52	
229	Saint Helena (/world-population/saint-helena-population/)	4,049	0.35 %	14	10	
230	Falkland Islands (/world-population/falkland-islands-malvinas-population/)	2,910	0.00 %	0	0	
231	Niue (/world-population/niue-population/)	1,618	-0.37 %	-6	6	
232	Tokelau (/world-population/tokelau-population/)	1,300	1.40 %	18	130	
233	Holy See (/world-population/holy-see-population/)	792	-1.12 %	-9	1,980	

Source: **Worldometers** ([www.Worldometers.info \(/\)](http://www.Worldometers.info (/)))

Elaboration of data by United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision (<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/theme/trends/index.shtml>). (Medium-fertility variant).



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EXHIBIT 14


Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister







Katie
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Samdech Hun Sen,
Cambodian Prime
Minister 
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សម្តេច អ៊ុន សែន
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Samdech Hun Sen,
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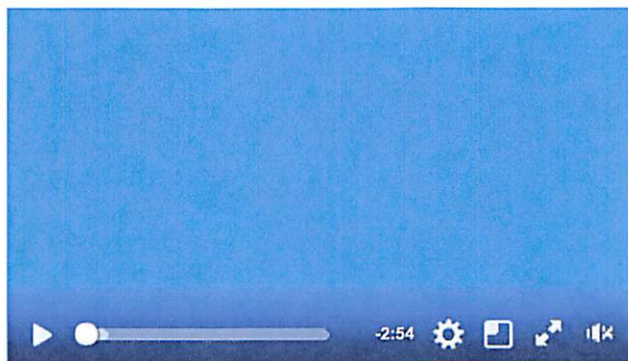


Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

5 hrs · 🌐

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ល្ងាចថ្ងៃពុធ ៨កើត ខែមាឃ ឆ្នាំរកា នព្វស័ក ព.ស២៥៦១ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី២៤ ខែ
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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister added 11
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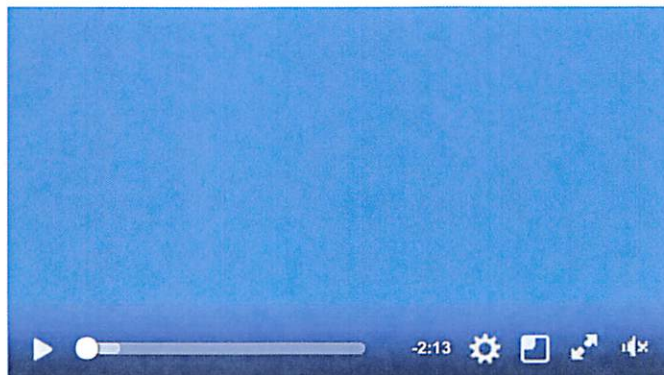
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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

13 hrs ·

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister added 5 new photos

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister added 11 new photos.

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នៅព្រឹកថ្ងៃពុធ ៨កើត ខែមាឃ ឆ្នាំរកា នព្វស័ក ព.ស២៥៦១ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី២៤ ខែ
មករា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨នេះ សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី
នៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា នឹងអញ្ជើញដឹកនាំគណៈប្រតិភូទៅបំពេញទស្សនកិច្ចនៅ
ប្រទេសឥណ្ឌា ព្រមទាំងចូលរួមកិច្ចប្រជុំកំពូលពិសេសលើកទី១២អនុស្សាវរីយ៍អាស៊ាន-
ឥណ្ឌា និងពិធីអបអរសាទរសាធារណរដ្ឋលើកទី៦៩ នៅទីក្រុងញូដេលី ប្រទេសឥណ្ឌា។
ដំណើរបំពេញទស្សនកិច្ចរបស់សម្តេចតេជោ និងគណៈ... See more



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Chakrya Srun នាងខ្ញុំឈ្មោះ ស្រីនិច្ជិយា នៅភូមិ ព្រែកត្រពាំង ឃុំ ៖
ការកោងទទឹង ស្រុក មុខកំពូល ខេត្ត កណ្តាល។
នាងខ្ញុំ សូមគោរព សំណើសុំ សម្តេចតេជោ មេត្តាជួយអន្តរាគមន៍ដល់ក្រុម
គ្រួសារនាងខ្ញុំផងនិងសុំអោយ ឪពុកម្តាយនាងខ្ញុំ បានចូលទៅរស់នៅក្នុង
ផ្ទះនាងខ្ញុំវិញផង។ ដោយក្រុមគ្រួសារនាងខ្ញុំ... See more

Like · Reply · 18h



Phally Lim Somdech Hun Sen a FATHER of a NEW and AMAZING
Cambodia. The FATHER of PEACE. PEACE and STABILITY Bring

Chat (8)



Samdech Hun Sen,
Cambodian Prime
Minister

@hunsencambodia

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

22 hrs · 🌐

ជម្រាបជូនរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីទាំងប្រទេស

នៅពេលនេះ ខ្ញុំកំពុងដឹកនាំគណៈប្រតិភូជាន់ខ្ពស់ទៅចូលរួមប្រជុំកំពូលកំពូល
ពិសេសសេដ្ឋកិច្ចអន្តរជាតិ អាស៊ាន-ឥណ្ឌា និងបំពេញទស្សនកិច្ចផ្លូវការចាប់ពី
ថ្ងៃទី ២៤-២៨ មករា ២០១៨។

ខ្ញុំពិតជាសប្បាយរីករាយ នៅពេលដែលបានឃើញបងប្អូនរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីជាតិបានខិតខំ
ប្រឹងប្រែងចូលរួមជាមួយខ្ញុំ ទាំងក្នុងការថែរក្សាសន្តិភាព និងក្នុងការចូលរួមបង្កើន
មុខរបរចិញ្ចឹមជីវិតអោយមានជីវភាពរស់នៅកាន់តែល្អប្រសើរឡើង។ ... See more



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Chakrya Srun នាងខ្ញុំឈ្មោះ ស្រីនីតិយ៉ា នៅក្នុង ព្រឹក្សាប្រជុំ យុវ
ការកោងទី២ ស្រុក មុខកំពូល ខេត្ត កណ្តាល។
នាងខ្ញុំ សូមគោរព សំណើសុំ សម្តេចកេរដៅ មេត្តាជួយអន្តរាគមន៍ដល់ក្រុម
គ្រួសារនាងខ្ញុំផងនិងសុំអោយ ឪពុកម្តាយនាងខ្ញុំ បានចូលទៅរស់នៅក្នុង
ផ្ទះនាងខ្ញុំវិញផង។ ដោយក្រុមគ្រួសារនាងខ្ញុំ... See more

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👍❤️👏 10



Trump Williams I wish you good luck and safe trip brother ❤️

Like · Reply · 22h

👍❤️👏 2

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister was live.

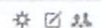
22 hrs · 🌐

ជួយផ្លាស់(Live): សម្តេចកេរដៅ ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញទៅបំពេញទស្សនកិច្ចនៅឥណ្ឌា
និងចូលរួមកិច្ចប្រជុំកំពូលអាស៊ាន-ឥណ្ឌា ។

អាសយដ្ឋានអគ្គរដ្ឋាភិបាលពេញ, ព្រឹកថ្ងៃពុធ ៨កើត ខែមាឃ ឆ្នាំរកា នព្វស័ក
ព.ស២៥៦១ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី២៤ ខែមករា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨



Chat (8)



Samdech Hun Sen,
Cambodian Prime
Minister

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គ្រួសាររបស់ ខ្ញុំ 4:52 គោរពជូនពរសម្តេច គេដោ ប្រតិភូអមដំណើរជួប នូវតែសេចក្តីសុខ សុខភាពល្អ សុខសុវត្ថិភាពក្នុងការធ្វើដំណើរ និង ជោគជ័យគរប់ការកិច្ច។ we are strongly to support Samdech PM forever.

Like · Reply · 22h

4



Chhay Rithisen 0:00 សូមគោរពជូនពរសម្តេចអគ្គមហា សេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន និងគណៈប្រតិភូអមដំណើរ ប្រគល់ដោយ សុវត្ថិភាពនិងទទួលបានជោគជ័យក្នុងការបំពេញបេសកកម្មដ៏ពិសិដ្ឋជូន ជាតិមាតុភូមិ ។ យើងខ្ញុំស្រឡាញ់ និងសូមគាំទ្រ សម្តេចជានិច្ច!

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

22 January at 17:22 ·

ខ្ញុំនិងគ្រួសារ សូមផ្ញើសេចក្តីស្រឡាញ់ និងនឹករឭកមកដល់បងប្អូនជនរួមជាតិទូទាំងប្រទេស។ ជីវិតពីរនាក់ប្តីប្រពន្ធខ្ញុំ ក្រៅពីការងាររដ្ឋ គឺមានការរស់នៅសាមញ្ញ ដូចបងប្អូនជនរួមជាតិដែរ។ ពិតណាស់ ខ្ញុំចូលចិត្តការហ្វឹកហ្វឺន ជាពិសេស ពេលធ្វើដំណើរផ្លូវឆ្ងាយទៅកាមបូណ៌ខេត្តនានា។

ថ្ងៃពុធស្អែកទី ២៨ នេះ ខ្ញុំនឹងដឹកនាំគណៈប្រតិភូជាន់ខ្ពស់កម្ពុជា ទៅចូលរួមប្រជុំកំពូល អាស៊ាន-អណ្ណា និងបំពេញទស្សនកិច្ចផ្លូវការនៅទីនោះផងដែរ។ នៅថ្ងៃទី ២៨ មករា ខ្ញុំនឹងវិលត្រឡប់មកកម្ពុជាវិញ។

អរគុណបងប្អូនជនរួមជាតិ និងកូនក្មួយដែលតែងតែគាំទ្ររូបខ្ញុំ និងបោះឆ្នោតជូនគណបក្សប្រជាជនយើងគ្រប់រូបអាណត្តិ។ ខ្ញុំ និងគ្រួសារសូមជូនពរដល់បងប្អូនជនរួមជាតិ ជួបតែសេចក្តីសុខ និងសំណាងល្អគ្រប់រូបគ្នា។



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Roat SeaVissal សូមគោរពជូនពរសម្តេចមានសុខភាពល្អ ពួកយើងមាន

Chat (8)



Samdech Hun Sen,
Cambodian Prime
Minister

@hunsencambodia

គ្រួសារខ្ញុំបានបានថែរក្សាអស់រយ... See more

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2 Replies

Som Sothearin សូមគោរពជូនពរដល់លោកទាំងឡាយ សូមឲ្យមានសុខភាពល្អប្រសើរ កម្លាំងកាយមាំមួនប្រាជ្ញាវាងវៃ ចក្ខុវិស័យមុតថ្លា ទទួលបានជោគជ័យគ្រប់កាលៈទេសៈនិងគ្រប់ពេលវេលានិងមានសុភមង្គល វិបុលភាពគ្រប់ប្រការដើម្បីយើងខ្ញុំបានគោរពប្រតិបត្តិយូរអង្វែងតទៅទៀតសូមលោកទាំងឡាយបំប៉ននិងឈប់ចាស់!!!!!!

Like · Reply · 1d

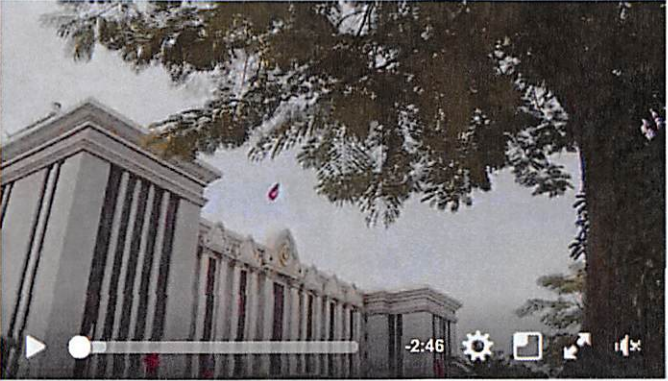
View more comments

Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

22 January at 05:12 · 🌐

វីដេអូ៖ សម្តេចរដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយ លោកស្រី Manika Jain ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូត នៃសាធារណរដ្ឋឥណ្ឌាប្រចាំកម្ពុជា នៅវិមានសន្តិភាព រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ។

ថ្ងៃច័ន្ទ ៦ កើត ខែមាឃ ឆ្នាំរកា នព្វស័ក ព.ស ២៥៦១ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី២២ ខែមករា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨



17k Views

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Chhun Vina ទឹកភ្នែកពលករកូរដែលបានបញ្ចប់ឆ្នាំខែ នៅពេលក្រឡប់មកស្រុកកំណើតវិញ ត្រូវបានអ្នកមានអំណាចយកដីចំការអស់ តើឲ្យខ្ញុំសង្ស័យលើអ្វីទៀតទៅ បើលើសឈាមឆ្នាំខែត្រូវបានអ្នកមានអំណាចយកអស់រយៈពេល។ សូមសម្តេចពុកមេត្តាជួយគ្រួសារខ្ញុំផង។

Like · Reply · 2d

គឹម សំភារ សម្តេចពុកហ៊ុនសែនប្រមូលដីកន្លែងស្នាក់នៅរបស់គោរពស្រឡាញ់របស់យើងវិភាយស្វាគមន៍នៅចំណងដៃមិត្តភាព សាមគ្គីភាព និងភិក្ខុសហប្រតិបត្តិការជាមួយលោកស្រី Manika Jain ជាដើម



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Cambodian Prime
Minister

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister added 5 new photos.

22 January at 02:17 · 🌐

សម្តេចតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយ លោកស្រី Manika Jain ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូត នៃសាធារណរដ្ឋឥណ្ឌាប្រចាំកម្ពុជា

នៅវិមានសន្តិភាព រសៀលថ្ងៃទី២២ ខែមករា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨នេះ សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា បានអញ្ជើញស្តាប់មន្ត្រី និងជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយ លោកស្រី Manika Jain ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូតថ្មីនៃសាធារណរដ្ឋឥណ្ឌាប្រចាំកម្ពុជា។

លោកស្រី Manika Jain អគ្គរដ្ឋទូត បានគោរពជំរាបជូន សម្តេចតេជោនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី ថា ឥណ្ឌា និងកម្ពុជា គឺមានវប្បធម៌ អរិយធម៌ប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នា... See more



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Chheng Kim Heng ការនឹកគង់ ដើម្បីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ប្រទេសជាតិរបស់ សម្តេច ហ៊ុន សែន បានបង្ហាញ ខ្លួន ភាពរីក ចំរើន ដ៏អស្ចារ្យ ដែលក្រសែ ភ្នែក ពិតណាស់កំពុង ចាប់ អារម្មណ៍ !!!

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👍 3



Moni Ka សម្តេចជាអ្នកដឹកនាំដ៏ឆ្លើយតប ក្នុងចំណោមនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី និងចង់ ចាំ សាមីគ្រប់យ៉ាងរបស់គណបក្សប្រជាជនជាតិខ្មែរ។

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Samdech Hun Sen,
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វីដេអូ: សម្តេចតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូត
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ឆ្នាំ២០១៨



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និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការជាមួយមិត្តជប៉ុនជាដាច់ខាត



4

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Forest Forest Many Khmer teachers teach Khmer literature n story
in the classes. I doubt whether they can write an essay n analyse on
their own ?

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister added 9 new photos.

21 January at 21:53 ·

សម្តេចតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយលោកឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូត
ជប៉ុន

នៅវិមានសន្តិភាព ព្រឹកថ្ងៃទី២២ ខែមករា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨នេះ បន្ទាប់ពីបានទទួល
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ការងារបន្តជាមួយ លោក Horinouchi Hidehisa ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូតជប៉ុនប្រចាំ
កម្ពុជា។

នៅក្នុងជំនួបនោះ លោក លោក Horinouchi Hidehisa បានសម្តែងការអបអរ
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របស់ គណបក្ស... See more

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Sinoun Pann សម្តេចជួយដល់គ្រួសារផ្ទុះ គ្រួសារខ្ញុំកំពុងមានរបបត្តិវិធី
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ស្រាយដល់គ្រួសារផ្ទុះ



6

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គឹម សំភាស ជយោ! សម្តេចពួកហ៊ុនសែនមហាប្រាសក្នុងមគ្គុទេសដ៍
ឆ្លើយល្អសម្រាប់ប្រមុខដឹកនាំអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជាតិខ្មែរក្លាំងនៅសតវត្សទី២១ ស
ម្តេចពួកហ៊ុនសែនប្រមុខដឹកនាំដ៏ឆ្លាតល្អសម្រាប់យើងវិភាគយស្វាគមន៍
នៅចំណងជិតភាព សាមគ្គីភាព និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការល្អជាលោក
Honinoughi Hidehisa ... See more



4

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Samdech Hun Sen,
Cambodian Prime
Minister

@hunsencambodia

21 January at 21:45 · 🌐

សម្តេចតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន អញ្ជើញជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយលោក Vu Quang Minh ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូតថ្មី នៃសាធារណរដ្ឋសង្គមនិយមវៀតណាមប្រចាំកម្ពុជា

នៅវិមានសន្តិភាពព្រឹកមិញនេះ សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា បានអញ្ជើញស្នាមមុខ និងជួបពិភាក្សាការងារជាមួយ លោក Vu Quang Minh ឯកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូតថ្មី នៃសាធារណរដ្ឋសង្គមនិយមវៀតណាមប្រចាំកម្ពុជា។ លោកអគ្គរដ្ឋទូត បានព្រមព្រៀងស្នើសុំទទួលបានកិត្តិយសវៀតណាមជូនចំពោះ សម្តេចតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី និងសម្តែងនូវការអ... See more



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Minh Quang Vu Thank you very much Samdech Techo Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, for receiving my Embassy colleagues and me this morning. Som Okun!

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2



គឹម សំភាស ជ័យោ! សម្តេចពួកហ៊ុនសែនមហារដ្ឋបុរសក្នុងមគ្គុទេសដ៍ ឆ្លើយល្អសម្រាប់ប្រមុខដ៏កាន់អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជាតិខ្មែរក្នុងនោះសក្រានុបនិពន្ធ សម្តេចពួកហ៊ុនសែនប្រមុខដ៏កាន់ដ៏ឆ្លាតល្អសម្រាប់សម្តែងវិស័យស្នាមមុខនៅចំណងមិត្តភាព សាមគ្គីភាព និងកិច្ចសហប្រតិបត្តិការរវាងមួយលោក By Quang Minh ដែរ... See more



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EXHIBIT 15

WORLD

This Country's Democracy Has Fallen Apart — And It Played Out To Millions On Facebook

Facebook was supposed to open up societies like Cambodia. But it's doing just the opposite — with disastrous consequences for its fragile politics.

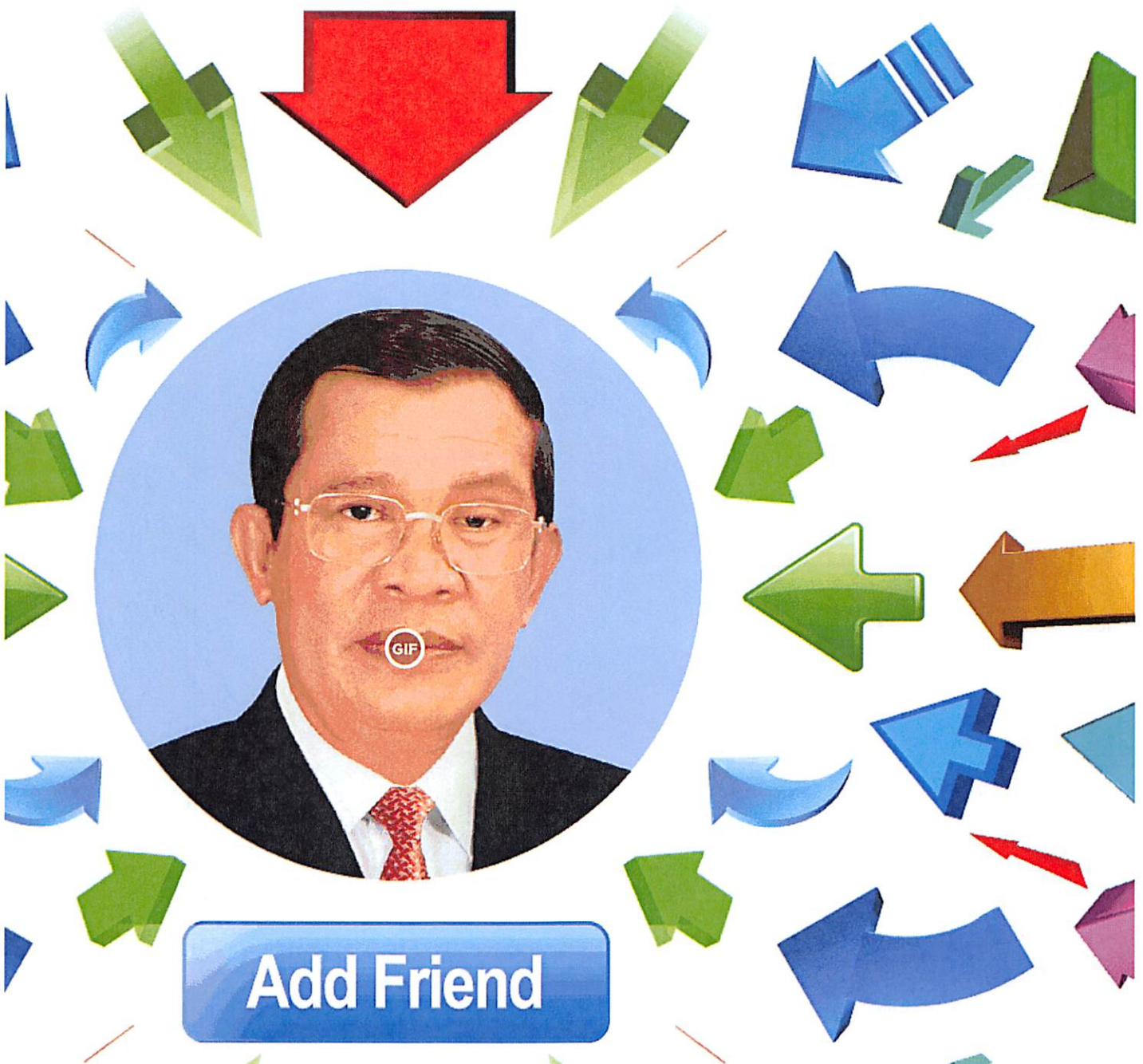
Posted on January 21, 2018, at 7:05 a.m.

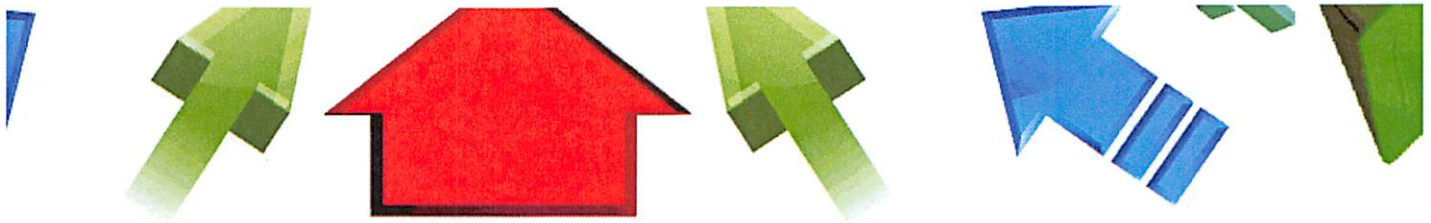


Megha Rajagopalan
BuzzFeed News Reporter



Reporting From
Phnom Penh, Cambodia





No Ideas for BuzzFeed News



PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — At first, Kem Monovithya was baffled. Then she was afraid.

It started with a news story that seemed totally made up. Last summer, Fresh News — a kind of Cambodian take on Breitbart — published an article accusing Kem and her sister of being part of an elaborate CIA plot to overthrow the government of Cambodia, along with their father, the leader of the main opposition party. It seemed so ridiculous that they thought no one would believe it.

“At first we thought it was so funny,” said Kem, who is also an opposition party official. In response, she tweeted a photo of her and her sister, Samathida, on a boat, wearing dark sunglasses — like secret agents in an action movie.



Monovithya Kem
@MNVKem



Personally we think MI6 is cooler than CIA. Bond, not just Bond girls, our name is Bond! To [#Cambodia](#) govt mouthpiece.

12:09 AM - Aug 31, 2017

1 4 17

“But then it wouldn’t stop,” she said. “They kept at it for over a week.”

Fresh News is one of the most influential news sites in Cambodia, and its founder, Lim Cheavutha, has a close relationship with the prime minister, whose agenda he is happy to push. Sites like Fresh News spread their message primarily through Facebook — the social network is Cambodia’s main news source and has become so popular there it is virtually synonymous with the internet. The story about the Kem family was viewed tens of thousands of times on Facebook.



As evidence of the Kem family's supposed plot to bring down the Cambodian government, Fresh News posted a mishmash of photos culled from social media of the sisters hanging out with various white male friends. "Any western person who we'd ever encountered in our life, they were accused of being a spy or working for the CIA," Kem Samathida told me by phone. "They were just dropping the names of random Americans."

Fresh News published more photos of the family, showing them posing at dinner gatherings with American friends and at an election event in Taiwan. The site also posted a video clip of Kem Sokha giving a speech in Melbourne, Australia, where he spoke about his desire for political change. All the images had been posted on social media before, but Fresh News claimed they were further proof of Kem Sokha's plot to overthrow the government, citing no named sources or other evidence.



Facebook ទម្លាយថា៖ បាវកម្មដែលបង្កប់ក្នុង CNRP ជាមនុស្សធ្លាប់ធ្លាប់ឃុំឃឹកជាមួយ បក្សប្រឆាំងនៅក្នុងខ្មែរ ក្នុងការទម្លាក់លោកស្រី Park Geun-Hye តាមរយៈការប្រើ ប្រាស់អត្ថបទកាតែមិនចរិតអុងអាល ញ្ចៀង



Facebook ទម្លាយទៀតហើយ «បាវកម្មបរទេសម្នាក់ទៀតបង្កប់ខ្លួនក្នុង (ក្នុងកញ្ចប់) នៅក្នុងថ្ងៃទី២៤ ខែសីហា ឆ្នាំ២០១៧នេះ Facebook មួយមានឈ្មោះ «កូនខ្មែរ» បានចេញ...

FRESHNEWSASIA.COM

👍 2K 💬 167 ➦ 595

Fresh News / Facebook / Via Facebook: freshnewsasia

On Sept. 3, about a week after Fresh News first accused the Kem family of having ties to the CIA, dozens of police pushed through the gates of Kem Sokha's family home in Phnom Penh and arrested him. He was charged with treason and faces up to 30 years in prison.



Fresh News / Facebook / Via Facebook: video.php

When Facebook first came to Cambodia, many hoped it would help to usher in a new period of free speech, amplifying voices that countered the narrative of the government-friendly traditional press. Instead, the opposite has happened. Prime Minister Hun Sen is now using the platform to promote his message while jailing his critics, and his staff is doing its best to exploit Facebook's own rules to shut down criticism — all through a direct relationship with the company's staff.

Facebook has also dramatically reduced the reach of independent media in Cambodia after it decided last year to silo off their content as part of a controversial experiment. The company said this month it would make similar changes to News Feeds for users worldwide.

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Facebook has styled itself as a neutral platform for information. But its role in spreading propaganda and fake news, as well as its relationship with the Cambodian government, shows how easily that neutrality can be exploited by autocrats.

Weeks after Kem's arrest, Cambodia's top court dissolved the main opposition party at the request of the government. It marked a fundamental shift in Cambodian politics, which had long incorporated a vibrant media and civil society, as well as flawed but fiercely fought elections. Democracy in the country had collapsed, and it was broadcast to millions on Facebook.





Lim Cheavutha, founder and CEO of Fresh News.
Jade Sacker For BuzzFeed News



Lim Cheavutha, who is in his thirties and speaks with an easy confidence, brags about the pageviews on Fresh News with the passion of a football coach obsessing about stats. The site combines the fast-breaking headlines of a newswire with a decidedly pro-government slant, and Lim says he's so close to Hun Sen that they sometimes message about stories well past midnight. Asked about the growth of his site, he claims extraordinary numbers that are impossible to verify because the company is privately held — more than 10 million pageviews per month and 1,400 downloads of the app a day. (Cambodia has about 4.8 million Facebook users, according to [a 2017 assessment](#).)

Lim says he built Fresh News from scratch with just \$10,000. His critics say this is untrue and that Hun Sen is simply bankrolling the site. (A spokesperson for the prime minister did not respond to requests for comment on the site's ownership.) Lim insisted his site was independent — but then expressed pride in his cozy relationship with the prime minister and other ruling party officials. The opposition won't return his messages, he said, though opposition officials told me they'd never heard from Lim.

In a place like Cambodia, Lim's site couldn't be successful without Facebook, which is where almost everyone gets their news. "Facebook is an absolute necessity for my site," he said.

Lim said his most popular stories are about the mundane, like traffic accidents and celebrity gossip. But when it comes to politics, he's quick to note that he alone has the ear of the prime minister.

"They trust me because if they give me the whole thing, I publish the whole thing," Lim said. "If he [the prime minister] wants to spread news, he comes to me ... that's why I get scoops." Despite claiming to be independent, Lim said he does not edit Hun Sen's statements, and says he puts out quick stories himself, tapping them out on his phone, based on what message the prime minister wants to get out.

It's clear that Hun Sen, who has spent 33 years in power, understands how important Facebook is in his country. With more than 9 million followers, he is [the third most engaged world leader](#) on Facebook, after Donald Trump and India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, according to a study by the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller. The report called his presence "unusual" in its candidness — browsing through shows plenty of selfies as well as shots of him with his family and working behind the scenes. For Cambodians, it was a change from the strongman-like figure he presented for years before.

"He's been a zealous convert to Facebook," said Sebastian Strangio, the author of *Hun Sen's Cambodia*. "He's using Facebook to sand down the rough edges and present a more avuncular and beneficent public image."

Democracy in the country had collapsed, and it was broadcast to millions on Facebook.



Hun Sen wasn't always such an avid user of Facebook — in fact, he appeared to have little interest in the platform until after the last elections in 2013. That year, the Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP) — the party Kem Sokha led — won far more votes than expected, in part by generating support through Facebook.

Hun Sen's party still won the election, though there were allegations of voting irregularities and fraud afterward, leading to tens of thousands of Cambodians protesting in the streets. But the prime minister learned an important lesson — that Facebook has a way of getting out your message that would be foolish to ignore.

"Facebook is the most important part of work as well as life," said Duong Dara, an aide to Hun Sen and the head of his Facebook team, in a rare

Duong, who is in his early forties, first started using Facebook, he said, because he saw posts about Cambodia being a dangerous place to visit and wanted to clap back out of patriotism. Later, he created a fan page for Hun Sen, who he had long supported. He attracted millions of followers with his straightforward voice. After the election in 2013, Hun Sen himself saw it, Duong said, and got in touch.

Duong came on board and began building a team to manage Hun Sen's Facebook presence. He declined to specify its size, but said the team was made up of technical people as well as those who understand politics, government policy, and public opinion.



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Duong, who speaks English with a perfect American-style accent, has traveled throughout his country and abroad at Hun Sen's side. He carries five mobile phones in a black vinyl case specifically so he can monitor different Facebook accounts. The phones use different cell service providers so that there's always a guarantee of signal when the prime minister needs to post — even during a recent visit to China, where Facebook is blocked, and in less developed parts of the countryside.

Duong's team obsessively monitors comments and likes on the prime minister's posts with the fervor of day traders playing the stock market, trying to replicate successes and interrogate failures. They've learned photos that show Hun Sen's personal side — like selfies or casual snaps — do a lot better than messages about policy.



Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister

about a week ago



ព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ដែលបានជួបជុំក្នុងកម្មវិធីនេះ ព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ និង អនុវត្តន៍ដែលបានបង្ហាញពីទឹកចិត្តគោរពស្រឡាញ់ចំពោះព្រះមហាក្សត្រ ជាងពាន់ឆ្នាំមកហើយ ដែលយើងបានឆ្លងកាត់ការលំបាកគ្រប់យ៉ាង ទម្រាំយើងមានថ្ងៃនេះ។ ដូច្នេះ យើងមិនចង់ អោយឱកាសទាំងនេះបាត់បង់ទៅវិញដែរ។

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Facebook / Via Facebook: hunsencambodia

Duong's team also monitors Facebook for people posting comments critical of Hun Sen that they feel cross the line.

"We don't want that kind of information spread on the prime minister," Duong said. At first, the team, or the prime minister himself, would reply directly to critics, he said. But if the Facebook user didn't stop, Duong's team would try to get their accounts blocked.

"If they keep posting these nonsense messages, we report it to Facebook," he said. "They've been very helpful. I have a good contact with them."

When ordinary Facebook users find a post objectionable, they click a link on the post to report it. Then a Facebook employee judges whether it violates the platform's rules and should be taken down. In practice, it's a clunky process that involves no direct communication or chance for appeal, and the decisions made by Facebook can seem mysterious and arbitrary.

But for the Cambodian government, that process has been streamlined by Facebook.

Duong said every couple of months, his team would email an employee they work with at Facebook to request a set of accounts be taken down, either based on language they used or because their accounts did not appear to be registered to their real names, a practice Facebook's rules forbid. Facebook often complies, he said.

Clare Wareing, a spokesperson for Facebook, said the company removes "credible threats, hate speech, and impersonation profiles when we're made aware of them." Facebook says it only takes down material that violates its policies.

"We have not removed content outside of our policies at the request of the government in Cambodia," she said, pointing to the company's [transparency report](#). The company says any government can submit reports about content.

Duong knows that. In fact, when his team reports critics, they do their best to exploit Facebook's own rules, specifically looking for posts critical of Hun Sen that they think Facebook will also find objectionable.

"I'm really careful about what I post on Facebook now."



In some cases, when Facebook wouldn't take action but Duong's team felt criticism or fake news was over the line, they would report users directly to the police. At least 15 people have been arrested in Cambodia over Facebook posts since 2014, and many more have been threatened in public and private.

I asked Huy Vannak, an undersecretary of state for the Ministry of Interior who has been a vocal advocate for controls on online expression, whether this process denied Cambodians the right to free speech. He was blunt in his response.

"People want a big room for themselves to speak," he said. "But if you let things go freely, it'll be anarchy. ... You have to understand that freedom has limits. You need rule of law."

The country's Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications also work to monitor Facebook for content they object to, Huy Vannak said. From cities to villages, government officials are trained to use Facebook to engage with citizens and also keep an eye on what they post to ensure there's no content that threatens social stability — as the government sees it.

The government has a "mechanism" for working with Facebook on that issue, he said, without elaborating.

But for the opposition, it's a different story.

In 2016, [research](#) from the analysis firm Socialbakers suggested a significant portion of Hun Sen's Facebook likes came from places like the Philippines and India, which don't have Khmer-speaking populations and are known for hosting so-called click farms where users can buy likes. Lorya Nosedá, a marketing consultant who had worked on behalf of the opposition for her uncle, former party leader Sam Rainsy, wanted to bring the matter to Facebook. [Facebook says](#) it does not want users to buy likes, saying it will remove fake likes and block accounts that buy them.

Unsure of the right person to contact at the company, Sam Rainsy asked one of his daughters to reach out to a friend at Facebook's London office. The friend connected them to others at the company who managed public pages and worked on the policy team.

At first, Nosedá was optimistic. But then they didn't get responses to their emails for weeks or were simply ignored.

"They took three weeks to reply, or there was no answer — or they'd give you a reply that was just bullshit or missing the point, saying it wasn't in their remit," she said. "Then you try to schedule a call, and they say you have to speak to their boss and their boss doesn't respond."

"I just didn't know what to do."

In an email exchange that took place over two months in 2016, and seen by BuzzFeed News, Sam Rainsy wrote a detailed note complaining about reports that Hun Sen was buying followers. At first, the Facebook employee, who works on product policy, seemed happy to set up a phone call to explain the company's rules and point of view. But after Nosedá cc'd Sam Rainsy's lawyer, the messages simply stopped. (Facebook contests this, saying they did offer a call, but Nosedá says the company's representative did not follow through.)

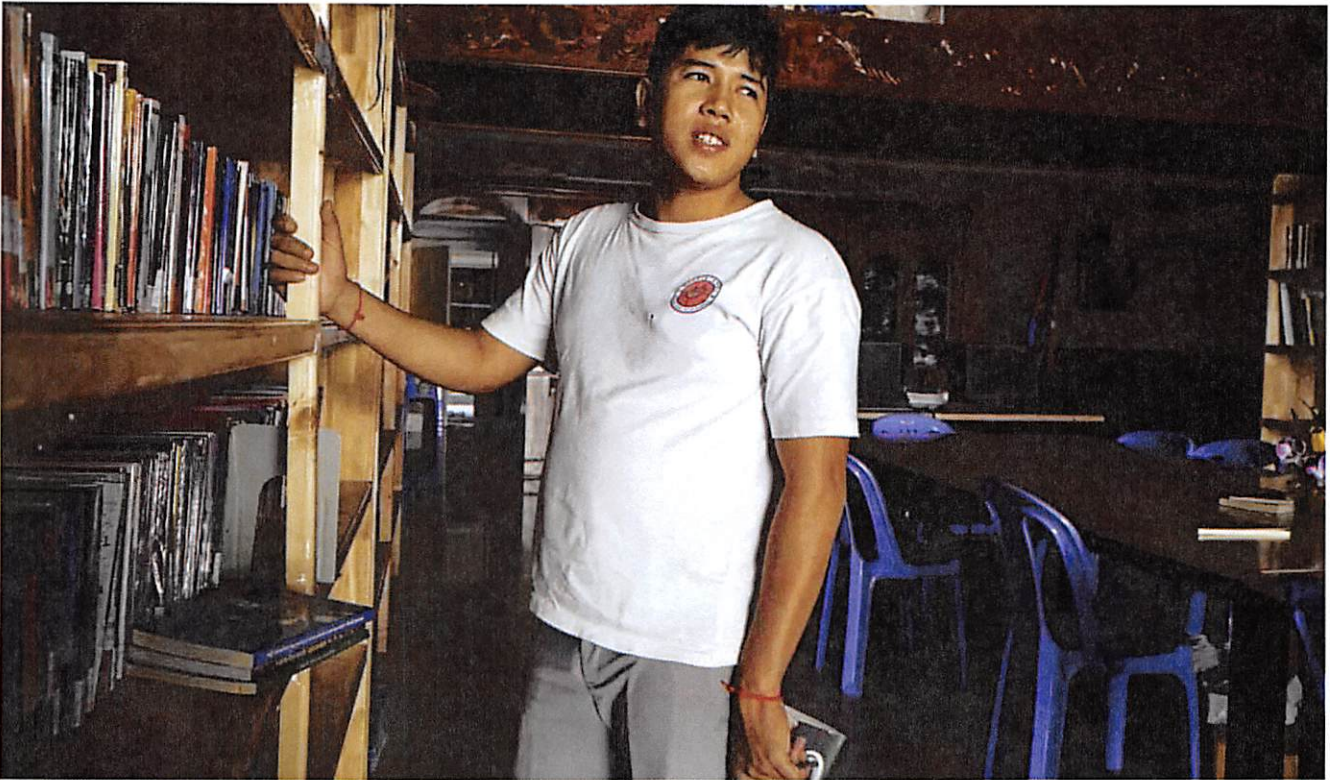
<p>ESCAPE WINTER IN PALM SPRINGS.</p> <p>SAVE UP TO 20%</p>		<p>OMNI RESORTS rancho las palmas palm springs</p> <p>PLAN MY TRIP ></p>
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Nosedá was frustrated.

"Facebook has a moral duty toward Cambodia," she said. "Because the radio and TV and everything is controlled by Hun Sen, Facebook has become the only place where people can freely express themselves."

Those who engage in political speech on Facebook say, however, that they're being more and more careful with what they say. The platform stopped being a place for free expression in Cambodia when the government started arresting people over Facebook posts.





Kung Raiya, one of the first Cambodians to be sent to prison for a Facebook post.
Jade Sacker For BuzzFeed News



Kung Raiya, 26, first started using Facebook six years ago because he heard it was a way to meet pretty girls. It never occurred to him that he might land in prison over a Facebook post.

In person, Kung comes off as soft-spoken and a little shy. But his online life is a different story. He first got interested in political activism as a student, when he would cycle to demonstrations after class. He began posting snapshots and videos of post-election protests, and the police abuses that sometimes accompanied them, on his Facebook account, and thousands of people started to follow him to find out what was happening in real time.

"I used Facebook as a news broadcasting service, one just for myself," he said. "Every action I took, I would post about it."

It didn't cross Kung's mind that he could get in trouble for being so outspoken. After all, he had never heard of anyone being jailed over a Facebook post in Cambodia. That changed in August 2015, when Kung was scrolling through his News Feed and saw part of a speech made by Hun Sen. The prime minister vowed to turn the country's armed forces against those who tried to instigate a "color revolution."

Kung had never heard the term before. He asked one of his teachers what it meant. The teacher didn't really know either, but told him it was a form of protest, he said.

Without thinking too much about it, Kung posted on Facebook asking if anyone wanted to start a color revolution with him in Cambodia.

"I was young," he said with a shrug. "I didn't feel afraid. Friends even told me to delete it and I said no, why would I do that? It's not illegal."

Two weeks later, while on his way to class, Kung was arrested. He would spend 18 months in prison, convicted of incitement to commit a felony.

"You have to understand that freedom has limits. You need rule of law."



What happened to Kung and many others like him in the past two years has created a chilling effect that critics of the government say is only getting worse. The government does not have the ability to block individual pages on Facebook, but the jailing of its critics has made them much quieter and more cautious.

"I'm really careful about what I post on Facebook now," said Noan Sereiboth, 28, a blogger who helps run a political discussion group. "Because of

He had heard of many people being arrested for criticizing the prime minister, he said. They were released after they apologized.

One way Cambodian internet users get around this issue is by using anonymous accounts on Facebook. Some of the accounts use obvious pseudonyms, often incorporating English words like “peace” and “love.” Others are harder to distinguish from real names.

Fake names violate Facebook’s terms of service, but in practice, the rule is not enforced consistently, in part because the company relies on people proactively bringing such accounts to its attention.

Duong is aware of this, too. He said his team makes note when accounts using pseudonyms criticize the prime minister. It’s easy, he said, to get Facebook to take those accounts down because they already violate the company’s terms of service.

Samathida Kem, the opposition leader’s daughter, said she noticed plenty of fake names, too — on accounts that sent her harassing messages. When it got to be too much, she would click the “report” button like any other user. Sometimes Facebook responded.

“The thing is that if you look back now, we’ve become less free as a country,” she said. “There are people who get arrested so randomly — so many people who criticize the government that you don’t know which one of them they’re going to come after.”



An employee works at Fresh News.

Jade Sacker For BuzzFeed News



This month, Facebook announced a sweeping change to its platform that would prioritize personal posts that friends share or react to and sideline content produced by official pages, like professional news sites, brands, and organizations like nonprofits. In an interview with the New York Times, Mark Zuckerberg, the company’s founder, said it was an effort to display more content that involved “meaningful interaction” as opposed to “passive content,” like videos or news articles. (Zuckerberg also said the company would work to combat fake news by surveying users on which sources they trust.)

The decision mirrors an experiment the company decided to run in Cambodia and a handful of other developing countries in October last year.

"The goal of this test is to understand if people prefer to have separate places for personal and public content," wrote Adam Mosseri, head of News Feed, [in a statement](#) at the time. (Asked about the experiment, a Facebook spokesperson sent a link back to that statement.)

According to a person with direct knowledge of the matter, Facebook developers believed the move would decrease the organic reach of official pages by 50% to 80%. They were right. Pages from Lim Cheavutha's pro-government Fresh News to independent news outlets like the Phnom Penh Post saw their traffic crash.

The decision sparked an outcry in Cambodia and other countries, including Bolivia, Serbia, Guatemala, and Sri Lanka. Phil Robertson of Human Rights Watch accused Facebook of using developing countries [as "guinea pigs" in an experiment](#).

It only made matters worse that the test came just as Hun Sen's government was working to shut down independent media, from the Cambodia Daily newspaper to a host of news radio stations, making Facebook's role as a source even more important. Media executives [have said](#) these changes to the News Feed have actually amplified fake news by making it harder to find information from independent, trustworthy news sources.

But Facebook now appears to be shying away from its role as a news source amid lingering questions about its handling of rumors and fake news that have affected elections around the world. It's clear it won't be playing the role in this year's national election that it did in 2013.

The US and the EU suspended aid from this year's national election after Hun Sen dissolved the opposition, saying there was no way the process could be legitimate. Hun Sen has said the elections will be held on schedule anyway, saying [he doesn't care](#) if "foreigners" recognize it as genuine.

This month, Sam Rainsy, the former opposition leader who has avoided imprisonment by going into exile in France, announced the establishment of a new political movement, though Kem Sokha has declined to join.

But he and other opponents of the government have a much harder road ahead of them this time. Facebook's role as one of the two tech giants dominating the digital advertising market depends on keeping its users engaged and spending as much time on its platform as possible — a goal that's more easily accomplished by encouraging users to interact with friends than by serving as a platform for news.


"It's a real shame that there isn't much commitment to actually support people who use Facebook to spread political messages and to try to move forward, to improve the current situation," said Nosedá. "They don't care — they're very hands off. They just want people to pay for advertising." •

Sokhean Ben contributed additional reporting to this story.

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Contact Megha Rajagopalan at megha.rajagopalan@buzzfeed.com.

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Sitemap

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EXHIBIT 16

facebook for business

Facebook Pages: Keeping Activity Authentic

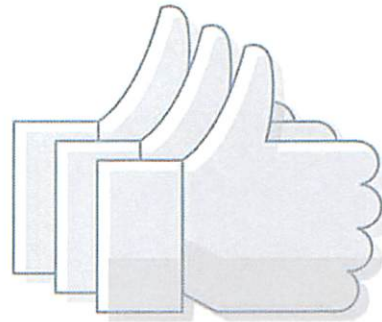
Overview

Why Facebook cares about fake likes

Likes created by fake accounts or people without real intent are bad for people on Facebook, advertisers and Facebook itself.

We have a strong incentive to aggressively go after the bad actors behind fake likes, because businesses and people who use our platform want real connections and results. Businesses won't achieve results and could end up doing less business on Facebook if the people they're connected to aren't real. It's in our best interest to make sure that interactions are authentic, so we have a number of teams that detect fraudulent activity and shut it down.

We work hard to ensure that the connections between businesses and people are genuine and meaningful and want to share the resources we have to help you understand where fake likes come from, the defences we have in place and tips on how to safeguard yourself against fraudulent activity.



What are fake likes?

When we refer to fake likes on Facebook, we're explicitly referring to external services that sell packages of likes from fake accounts or people without real intent by offering a certain number of likes for a flat fee. Fake like peddlers tempt Page admins with offers to "buy 10,000 likes!" or other similar schemes. We aren't referring to likes obtained using the free or paid fan acquisition tools offered by Facebook, which provide legitimate likes garnered from people with a genuine interest in a Page.



How and why inauthentic likes are generated

There are four primary ways in which fake likes are generated:

1. **Click farms**, in which individuals with real accounts on Facebook are paid to manually like specific Pages
2. **Fake accounts** that do not represent real people and are generated for the primary purpose of liking Pages
3. **Self-compromised accounts**, in which a person knowingly installs malware or gives up control of their account in order to get more likes for their own Page
4. **Compromised accounts** that have been infected with malware, causing the accounts to like Pages without the knowledge of the account owners

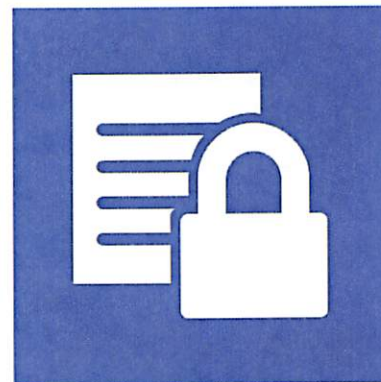
People behind these fraudulent activities are rational actors with clear financial motivations. They make their profit by promising and generating Page likes to admins around the world who typically don't understand the negative implications of purchasing these likes.



How we detect and prevent fraudulent activity

Selling likes created by fake accounts or people without real intent is only profitable when it can be done at scale. To make it more difficult for these scams to be profitable, our abuse-fighting team builds and constantly updates a combination of automated and manual systems that help us catch suspicious activity at various points of interaction on the site, including: registration, friending, liking and messaging.

We write rules and use machine-learning to catch suspicious behaviour. When we catch fraudulent activity, we work to counter and prevent it – including blocking accounts and removing fake likes.



Page admins: best practices

Focus on real business objectives, not just likes

Page likes offer value as they make your adverts more effective and efficient, provide you with insights into who cares about your business and give your business credibility on Facebook.

However, having likes is not an end in itself.

Your business will see much greater value if you use Facebook to achieve specific business objectives, such as driving in-store sales or app downloads. Visit the **Facebook Adverts Help Centre** for a full list of Facebook Advert objectives as well as descriptions of each.



Don't buy fraudulent likes that hurt your business in the long term

While many legitimate Page admins think that packages of fraudulent likes are a useful tool to increase the perception of how popular their Page is, the likes end up being detrimental to the Pages and admins that purchase them. Fraudulent likers are extremely unlikely to engage with a Page after liking it.

Facebook takes into account Page engagement rates when deciding when and where to deliver a Page's legitimate adverts and content, so Pages with artificially inflated like counts are harming themselves, making it more difficult and more expensive to reach the people they care about most.



Understand your audience

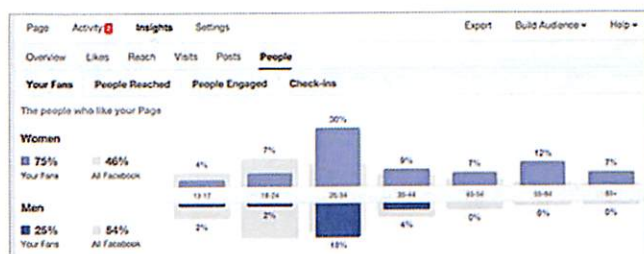
Understanding who is connected to and engaging with a Page will help enable admins to target more of the people most likely to have a genuine interest in their Page.

Use Page Insights to understand the kinds of people connecting and engaging with a Page. With Page Insights, admins can:

- View metrics about your Page's performance
- Learn which posts have the most engagement
- See data about when a Page's audience is on Facebook

For example, admins can look at each of their posts and see which ones have the most likes, comments and shares, and the least negative feedback. They can use this information to create more posts that their audience is interested in seeing.

View your Page Insights.

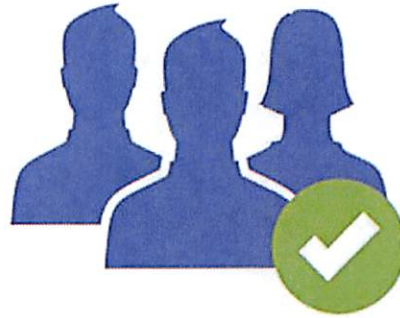


Viewing the *People* tab in Insights

Where likes come from

Valid reasons why Pages get likes outside of their target audience

It's possible for your Page to receive likes from people outside of the key location, age or gender of the people you're looking to reach. In most cases, this doesn't indicate that your Page is receiving fake likes. Below are some of the factors that may have caused a Page to accrue likes outside of your target demographic.



1. You've previously targeted adverts to people outside of your preferred demographic.

Take a look at the previous advertising campaigns that you've run by visiting Adverts Manager. If you selected targeting such as friends of fans in the past and didn't specify additional demographic targeting, your adverts may have reached people outside of your target demographic simply because they're connected to fans of your Page.

2. Your Page represents an aspirational business or brand.

Many luxury or aspirational brands and businesses receive likes from people who wouldn't necessarily be considered likely candidates to become customers. For example, a 13-year-old may like a luxury car Page in the hope of one day purchasing such a car. Although this car company may not be looking to attract 13-year-olds to their Page, the 13-year-old is genuinely interested in the brand and is expressing his or her interest in an authentic way.

3. You or another admin invited friends and family who aren't part of your Page's target demographic to like a Page.

Many Page admins start out by inviting the people they know to like their Page. If you or another admin invited friends and family who may not be within your Page's target demographic, you may notice that your Page insights reflect a discrepancy between the people you're looking to reach and those who are already connected to your Page.

4. People outside of your preferred demographic have found your Page on their own.

Even if you've carefully targeted your adverts, you aren't an aspirational brand and you haven't invited friends and family who aren't part of your preferred audience to like your Page, you may have some likes from outside of your intended demographic. This could occur if friends of the people who like your Page have seen them engage and have decided to do so as well, or if they found your Page by searching for it, among other things. We believe that it's important to allow people to express their interest in Pages even if the Page admin isn't specifically looking to connect to people outside of their audience.

Tip: It's possible for Page admins to set country and age requirements as needed. Learn how.

Protect yourself from spam and other security threats

[Learn how](#)

EXHIBIT 17

N

ASIA MEDIA POLITICAL DISSENT

Fake News and the Death of Democracy in Cambodia

Forget tanks and rifles. Like other autocrats, Cambodia's Hun Sen uses fake news to justify oppression.

By Geoffrey Cain

NOVEMBER 21, 2017



Security stand guard outside the Supreme Court in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, October 31, 2017. (AP Photo / Heng Sinith)

At half-past-midnight on September 3, more than 100 police raided the home of Cambodia's opposition leader, Kem Sokha. The security forces hustled him away to a

maximum-security prison just outside of Phnom Penh. More than two months later, he's languishing in a cell, awaiting trial for treason.

"Since my father's arrest, there hasn't been a day that I didn't cry myself to sleep," said Samathida Kem, Sokha's daughter who was on the phone with her father as he was detained. "His last words were, 'They're handcuffing me.' My mother was left screaming and crying alone with two housemaids as they took him and all the men in our house away."

At the time, Samathida was safely out of the country, but now she's afraid to return home. "We have been the targets from the beginning," she told me. "My mom is alone in Cambodia. Even with fear, she refuses to leave my father."

In retrospect, the warning signals that Cambodia was headed toward outright dictatorship should have been obvious, especially at the point I became ensnared. But the signs were so absurd they were hard to take seriously.

Ten days earlier, I opened my laptop to alarm. "Did you see this?!" a frantic colleague asked in a Facebook message. She attached an awkwardly translated piece from a government-aligned online tabloid called *Fresh News*: "An American citizen, Geoffrey Cain, used to be a leader planning a mass movement to topple the former South Korean president, Mrs. Park Geun-hye." The "exposé" was entirely about me, and included snapshots someone had obtained from my private Facebook page.

My first reaction was to laugh; the story was ludicrous. "Toppling" a nation's government? Last March, after millions of demonstrators filled the streets, South Korea's president,

Park Geun-hye, was impeached for corruption, removed from office, and arrested. According to *Fresh News*, I instigated the uprising that forced her out.

Um, OK, I thought.

Then the conspiracy got weirder. “This person is now employed by a superpower country to plan a strategy assisting the CNRP”—the acronym for Cambodia’s opposition party, the Cambodian National Rescue Party—“to topple the government led by Prime Minister Hun Sen.”

As evidence, they showed a dinner photograph of me eating Korean barbecue in Cambodia with Samathida, who is a friend of mine.

The idea that eating barbecue with the daughter of a politician makes me a secret agent with the ability to oust the Korean president is preposterous. No one could possibly believe that, I thought. The *Fresh News* website was buggy and amateurish. I doubted anyone would read or care about it.

“I’m not going to say anything,” I told my friend. “Why bother denying the story? That would give the impression it matters.”

The next morning, I woke up to another worried missive from a human-rights group. Within hours, it was a stream of phone calls and e-mails.

Over the weekend, the attacks against me in the media kept spreading. A major Cambodian newspaper, *Kampuchea Thmey*, picked up the story. Then Apsara TV, a popular station owned by ruling-party stalwarts, splashed the story

that I was a spy all over prime-time news, along with a snapshot of my non-public Facebook page and the dinner photo. Most alarming was that the coverage compared me to the Australian filmmaker James Ricketson, who faces 10 years in a Cambodian prison on espionage charges.

“Stay out of Cambodia until the situation changes,” Elizabeth Becker, a former *New York Times* reporter and an author of a book on Cambodia, wrote in an e-mail. “Falsely charging Americans as spies to provide a cover for nefarious undertakings has a long and deadly history in Cambodia.”

Becker would know. In December 1978, she was part of a delegation of two journalists and a British academic, Malcolm Caldwell, given a rare tour of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. “Several files in Tuol Sleng [a former torture complex] describe how I was a CIA spy and should be killed because of the questions I asked during my 1978 visit with two other foreigners,” she wrote in her e-mail. “One assassin said he was ordered to kill me. We were attacked and Malcolm Caldwell was killed instead of me.”

Becker’s intent was not to compare Hun Sen’s Cambodia to Pol Pot’s, but it was a chilling reminder to take these accusations seriously. What seemed like “fake news” with no audience and no purpose turned out almost certainly to be a state-led attack, with *Fresh News* acting as a front for government propaganda.

I’m confident about the government’s involvement for a few reasons. First, a well-placed Cambodian friend, who was in touch with the government’s Ministry of Information, told me her contact said they knew I wasn’t a spy, but that they needed an American scapegoat to go after the opposition.

Second, according to *The Phnom Penh Post*, Hun Sen personally ordered the formation of a high-powered inter-ministerial working group to produce anti-opposition propaganda. Third, the newspaper has also reported that *Fresh News* appears to take orders from the ruling party.

On August 28, I was in a layover in Bangkok's airport when a panicked member of the opposition party wrote me a message on WhatsApp.

"They opened an investigation!" She attached an article from a Cambodian newspaper, *Rasmei Kampuchea*.

"Um, who's under investigation?" I asked.

"They didn't name names. They're probably targeting the opposition. The Americans aren't the target. That's just their propaganda," she said.

When, six days later, they detained Kem Sokha, we finally knew for certain the purpose of the fake news in which I had been a prop. As "evidence" of Kem Sokha's connections to the US government, Cambodian authorities showed a two-minute speech from 2013 in Australia in which he talked about getting foreign advice. "The USA, which has assisted me, has asked me to take the model from Yugoslavia, Serbia, where they were able to change the dictator Milosevic," he said.

I couldn't fathom the horror that Kem Sokha's family had to face, but I was unsure of what I could do. If I helped the opposition party, I'd confirm suspicions that I was a CIA meddler, which could then be used against Kem Sokha

during his trial. But if I stood back and did nothing, I risked being complicit in a drama in which I had become a minor character.

I wanted to return to Cambodia and help, but I knew I couldn't. I booked a flight back to South Korea and then home to Chicago.

The next day as the opposition leader's arrest, *The Cambodia Daily* shut down its operations after being hit with a conveniently timed \$6.3 million tax bill. Nearly a dozen radio stations had their broadcasting licenses suspended, and one I used to consult for, Voice of Democracy Radio, was blocked from the airwaves. The opposition party's highest-ranking woman, Mu Sochua, fled the country. The government shuttered the Cambodia offices of the National Democratic Institute, the global development arm of the US Democratic Party, and expelled its foreign staff.

The crackdown was sudden and swift. The government's "press and quick reaction unit" aired a 22-minute video that showed the lengths that state officials were going to invent an international conspiracy.

Lessons from Color Revolution in Yugoslavia and Serbia Which USA Dictated Kem Sokha to Implement in Cambodia Have Crossed the Red Line was the title of the film, the text displayed at the beginning over clips of chaotic street protests and a burning, capsized truck.

After the US-led NATO campaigns bombed Yugoslavia and Syria, the film claimed Cambodia was next. Then it showed photographs of me and other Americans. We were all part of the "US Interference Network," connecting us to the CIA

and US Agency for International Development (USAID).

The US embassy in Phnom Penh has forcefully denied these accusations.

“The ringleader who was the foreign puppet was charged,” the film’s narrator declared about Kem Sokha, showing a photo of him on his perp walk the night of his arrest.

In a speech on September 15, Hun Sen ordered his police and military commanders to “research the presence of all persons of American nationality suspected of conducting espionage after the problems of 2013 and also even before that to find out which of them entered Cambodia.”

A military commander later declared he would “smash each and every person whose intent it is to make a color revolution.” It’s clear that if I were to return to Cambodia, I’d likely be arrested.

A decade ago, this isn’t where I thought digital media would lead Cambodia. When I first arrived in the country in July 2007 as an anthropology researcher, I noticed an odd dichotomy. There was the government propaganda. Hun Sen, for instance, was venerated with the official title “Illustrious Prince, Great Supreme Protector, and Famed Warrior.” State messages also implied that he was the reincarnation of a 16th-century king. The only other places I heard myth-making of this intensity was during my reporting in North Korea and Myanmar, two far more repressive states.

But Cambodia’s media environment was also among the most open in Southeast Asia. Its two award-winning daily newspapers, *The Phnom Penh Post* and *The Cambodia Daily*,

were fearless—and regime officials tolerated them because they needed reliable information, too. Young urbanites were starting to embrace the Internet, mobile phones, blogging, and other tools of online self-expression. The late 2000s were a time of hope. I thought if democracy was likely to flourish anywhere in the region, Cambodia was the place.

During that time, I befriended a group of young Cambodian techies who called themselves “Cloggers” (for “Cambodian blogger”). In August 2007, the Cloggers invited me to their conference, the Cambodian Bloggers’ Summit. It was an exciting day of panels, games, and lectures on the possibilities of the internet. This bright group of millennials was bypassing what little censorship existed in Cambodia and turning social media into a force for good.

“Don’t you think this is great, that people can use the Internet to get around their governments?” I recall another anthropologist asking me after the event.

But looking back, I made a grave error in my reporting. I didn’t step back and question whether the pro-social-media club was blinded by its optimism. The government, it turned out, could marshal online tools to a much greater extent than a few bloggers.

A generation of Cambodians grew up listening to radios first distributed by a United Nations peacekeeping force in the early 1990s. Radios were the perfect medium for educating people in a poor nation about civics and democracy: They were cheap, didn’t require the listeners to be literate, and didn’t broadcast through an expensive network of landlines.

But, as the prices of mobile phones fell, many Cambodians leapfrogged television and now get their news online. In their hands and pockets, people suddenly had access to a new, personalized window to the world: Facebook.

By 2016, almost half of Cambodians owned a smartphone—up from about 20 percent three years earlier—and Facebook was the country’s most popular news source. But Facebook apparently has a difficult time policing content in Khmer, the language of Cambodia. Bloody, uncensored motorbike-crash photographs and striptease videos fill well-populated Cambodian Facebook groups, unnoticed by the company and left up for everyone to see.

But to turn Facebook networks—even the ones with gore and porn—into a movement to squash political opponents seemed unlikely. I used to think there’s no way a few people with smartphones could wipe away the years of state building since the end of the Cold War. The diplomats and researchers I knew in Cambodia had reached a similar consensus. If there was a threat to democracy, it would come from elsewhere.

Though Hun Sen is an elected member of parliament, he acts as an authoritarian, reigning for 32 years as one of the world’s longest-serving leaders. His regime harasses, sues, jails, and assassinates critics. But Hun Sen has tolerated elections. And so, with evidence of growing discontent, his government created a few “spies” like myself to justify eliminating democratic freedoms that threatened his rule.

In past, Hun Sen has relied on more traditional strongman tactics to maintain power. In 1997, Hun Sen removed his rivals in a coup d’état, sending tanks and soldiers into the

streets. But with fake news, autocrats no longer need to resort to open violence or to dispatch their special forces to capture radio and TV stations to broadcast their messages. From Facebook, leaders can dream up conspiracies, publish them on their own fake-news pages, use targeted advertising to reach susceptible audiences, and *voilà*—they have manufactured a new ruling mandate.

What's incredible, I learned, is that people believe these government fictions. In the days after the espionage accusations against me, hundreds of Cambodians tried to add me on Facebook and wrote to me that they knew I was a spy. With declining access to independent newspapers and radio broadcasts, Facebook seemed to be their most-trusted source of information. They were keen to out me like the “traitors” and “puppets” of past revolutions. If there is a lesson, it's that institutions—the universities, businesses, newspapers, and government offices whose interest should be distributing reliable information—do not, perhaps can not, stand in the way of fake news.

The relative silence in the international press about this is scary. The streets are calm; and so there's nothing that gets the attention of CNN. Today's power grabs can happen on obscure websites, in foreign languages, away from prime-time international television.

Even with Kem Sokha in prison and his party in disarray, Hun Sen's purge wasn't finished. Last Thursday, Cambodia's supreme court dissolved the opposition party. The judge, a member of the ruling party, banned 100 opposition

lawmakers from politics for five years. The vacated parliamentary seats will be handed to the ruling party and its allies.

With that, democracy in Cambodia was finished. Cambodia is effectively a one-party state. And it started with news reports at which I had laughed.

“This is one of the oddest cases we’ve seen,” a representative from the Committee to Protect Journalists told me on the phone. Yet in many ways it’s indicative of how despots seize power in the age of Facebook.

“If the Cambodian Bloggers’ Summit happened today,” commented one of the participants, who wished to remain anonymous because he works for a government agency, “all of us participants would be [portrayed as] spies.”

Geoffrey Cain Geoffrey Cain has covered Asia for a decade and is the author of a forthcoming book on South Korea’s Samsung empire.

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COMMENTS (0)

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EXHIBIT 17A

2/7/2018

ផ្សាយផ្ទាល់(Live): ប្រសាសន៍ដើមទាំងស្រុងរបស់... - Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister



សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នៅវិទ្យាស្ថានបច្ចេកវិទ្យាកម្ពុជា(Institute

**Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister** was live.

Like Page

31 January at 17:26 ·

ផ្សាយផ្ទាល់(Live): ប្រសាសន៍ដើមទាំងស្រុងរបស់ សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនៃព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា ក្នុងកិច្ចប្រគល់សញ្ញាបត្រ និងសម្ពោធអគារទេពកោសល្យវិទ្យាស្ថាន សម្តេចអគ្គមហាសេនាបតីតេជោ ហ៊ុន សែន នៅវិទ្យាស្ថានបច្ចេកវិទ្យាកម្ពុជា(Institute of Technology of Cambodia) រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ។

ព្រឹកថ្ងៃទី១៣ ខែមេសា ឆ្នាំ២០១៨ ព.ស ២៥៦១ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី០១ ខែកុម្ភៈ ឆ្នាំ២០១៨

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Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodian Prime Minister and 6.1k others

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912 comments



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leng Sreng · 24:45 CPP Cambodia peace and prosperity under the leadership of samdech decho Hun Sen prime minister of Cambodia

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1 Reply

5



រាជ្យ · 32:44 មើលយូនផង យកដំអស់ហើយ សូមអុំកុំប្លាញ់អំណាចពេក គិតត្រូវទឹកដីផង បើលិនអុំជាជនជាតិខ្មែរពិត

Like · Reply · 6d

15 Replies

6



Phong Sokkheun · 3:27 មានសម្តេចតេជោ យើងមានអ្វីទាំងអស់ សម្តេចតេជោជាវិះជនសន្តិភាពដែលកម្ពុជាមិនអាចខ្វះបានឡើយ

Like · Reply · 6d

1 Reply

4



lech Sovantha · 4:47 គាំទ្រសម្តេចតេជោហ៊ុនសែនជានាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីសម្រាប់នីតិកាលទី៦និងសម្រាប់នីតិកាលបន្តបន្ទាប់ទៀត។

Like · Reply · 6d

2



ឈួន សៀន · 23:31 សូមគោរពជូនពរ+សម្តេចបាមហាសន្តិភាពជូនប្រពន្ធទាំងប្អូនប្រការគឺ អាយុវណ្ណៈសុខៈ និង ពលៈ គប្បីឃ្លៀងឃ្លាតឡើយបាន.....។

Like · Reply · 6d

4



សោម ឧសភា · 2:31 សម្តេចជាទីគោរព សូមសម្តេចរក្សាសុខភាពផង សម្រានឲ្យបានយ៉ាងតិច 6h ទៅ 8h ដែរ ព្រោះបេះដូងនិងអាចមានបញ្ហា

Like · Reply · 6d




























4

Chat (47)




2/7/2018

ផ្សាយផ្ទាល់(Live): ប្រសាសន៍ដើមទាំងស្រុងរបស់... - Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodia


-  **Rotha Pochentong** · 27:22 សូមអោយសន្តិភាពភ័ក្តមានជារៀងរហូតនៅលើទឹកដីកម្ពុជាដ៏សក់ស្លេងយើង ក្រោមការដឹកនាំរបស់សម្តេចតេជោ សូមជូនពរសម្តេចមានសុខភាពល្អ
- Like · Reply · 6d  3
-  **អ៊ុយ ធីន** · 43:30 អ្នកជេ សម្តេច រកស៊ី ធ្វើការ រៀនសូត្រគឺគ្មានកំណើតទេ ព្រោះនាំអោយក្តៅក្រហាយដល់ខ្លួន
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **អ៊ុយ ធីន** · 50:10 ខ្ញុំរំពឹងថា ប្រទេសខ្ញុំក្រោមការដឹកនាំរបស់សម្តេច និងរដ្ឋមន្ត្រីល្អៗជឿជាក់ថានឹងរីកចំរើន ឆ្លងពេលដែលមានប្រុងខាងមុខ
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **ឡឿង សាវ៉ាន់ ស្រឡាញ់សន្តិភាព** · 53:49 យើងគោរពតាមមាតិកាដឹកនាំរបស់សម្តេចតេជោ ជានិច្ច ព្រោះយើង ចង់រក្សាសន្តិភាព ការអភិវឌ្ឍ និងលទ្ធិប្រជាធិបតេយ្យ នៅកម្ពុជា។
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **Thai DY YA** · 5:36 សូមជូនពរសម្តេច អោយមានសុខភាពល្អរីករាយជានិច្ច ទទួលបាននូវជ័យជំនះគ្រប់ពេល វេលា ដើម្បីប្រទេសជាតិខ្មែរទាំងមូល មានភ័ស្តុតាងម្នាក់គត់
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **Sovann Sunsavuth** · 9:36 លោកគាត់សូមសម្តែងអោយលោកគាត់ជួយគ្រូគូពិនិត្យដល់ការប្រើប្រាស់សារធាតុ គីមីលើសំណាកបំពាក់ផងរាប់រាល់ដល់សុខភាពកម្មកររោងចក្រណាស់សូមតាមើល។
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **ម៉ាក់ សេងប៉ុង** · 25:55 ប្រសាសន៍សម្តេចពូកែពេញទៅដោយគតិអប់រំនិងមានកម្លាំងអចកាត់ថ្លៃបាន ក្លាយទៅជានិច្ច
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **វង្ស ឧបស្ស័ស** · 35:52 សូមសម្តេច មានសុខភាពល្អប្រសើរ និងមានអាយុយ៉ាងយូរ ដើម្បីបន្តសុខសន្តិភាព និងបន្តអភិវឌ្ឍនៅកម្ពុជា។
- Like · Reply · 6d
-  **Sim Vong Visal** · 7:18 ជូនពរសម្តេច នឹង ក្រុមគ្រួសារសម្តេចផងដែរ។ like Som dach nas!
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **សំអុន សុផាភូង** · 15:07 ខ្ញុំខ្លាចដែលក្នុងឆ្នាំពិរាតសំបុត្រប្រាំបីនេះសូមសិរីសួស្តីចូលមានដល់សម្តេចនិងក្រុម គ្រួសារឱ្យជួបតែសំណាងល្អមានសុខភាពល្អមានជ័យជំនះឈ្នះអស់ពួកមាសត្រូវទាំងគ្រប់ទិសទី ។
- Like · Reply · 6d
-  **Sovanna Soth** · 54:36 នៅខេត្តកាកែវ ធ្វើអត្តសញ្ញាណប័ណ្ណតិចខ្មែរ វាខុសពីសៀវភៅគ្រួសារ អស់ដល់ទៅ 250\$ សម្តេចជួយមើលផង
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **Mrr Dara** · 14:41 អាណិតលោកឪពុកណាស់រកពេលទំនេរគ្មានគឺដើម្បីប្រជាពលរដ្ឋរបស់យើងឱ្យមានជីវភាពល្អ ប្រសើរឡើងយើងជាប្រពលរដ្ឋគាំទ្រសម្តេចជានិច្ចមិនអាចបំភ្លេចបាន
- Like · Reply · 6d  2
-  **Vann Dy** · 31:57 គោរពជូនពរ សម្តេចនាយក មានសុខភាពល្អ បន្តដឹកនាំកម្ពុជាឆ្ពោះទៅរករីកចំរើនជា និរន្ត
- Like · Reply · 6d  1
-  **ឆាយ សុវណ្ណ ឆាយ** · 20:56 អាសម័យ រង្សី វាជាពូជក្បត់ជាតិ វាបង្កើតចលនាមកបំផ្លាញជាតិ ខ្ញុំគាំទ្រតែអនុសាសន៍ សម្តេចតេជោសែន តែមួយគត់
- Like · Reply · 6d  1
-  **ភាជន សៀ** · 23:21 ប្អូនជំនាន់ហើយសម្រាប់ខ្ញុំមិនអាចអួតសម្លេងកុហកខ្ញុំបានទេសូមគាំទ្រសម្តេចជារៀង រហូត4444,៤៤៤៤,៥,៥,៥,៥,៥,៥
- Like · Reply · 6d  1
-  **សិហា វិះបុត្រ** · 29:40 វាស្របភាគច្រើនមិនបោះឆ្នោតឱ្យសម្តេចទេ តែមិនដឹងមូលហេតុអ្វីបានជាសម្តេចនាំគ្នា ធ្វើនាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រីដែរ??
- Like · Reply · 6d
-  **Sara Pen** · 43:18 Love respect support my GOD forever bath sir.
- Like · Reply · 6d  1
-  **មករា មករាមករា** · 17:23 ខ្ញុំបានសូមជូនពរលោកសម្តេចមានសុភាពល្អមានកំលាំងមាំមួនមានអាយុយ៉ាងយូរ

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Lesma Vicario · 0:00 Wow good job..great leader of cambodia

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- 

Vintage Solid Maple Dresser with Mirror
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Modern Dresser
\$420 · San Francisco, CA

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2/7/2018

ផ្សាយផ្ទាល់(Live): ប្រសាសន៍ដើមទាំងស្រុងរបស់... - Samdech Hun Sen, Cambodia

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Michael Ni · 51:19 សម្តេចស្តេចប្រធានាធិបតី សូមថែរក្សាសុខភាព 🙏 គោរពស្រឡាញ់សម្តេច និងគាំទ្រ គណបក្សប្រជាជនរក្សា

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ហុត វិគី · 40:15 សូមសម្តេច មេត្តាជូនសេចក្តីស្នើសុំប្រធានសភាជុំវិញបឹងទន្លេសាបដង ពីព្រោះប្រធានសភា ចង់ជួប សម្តេចផ្ទាល់ មានតែសម្តេចទេបានដឹងពីសុខប្បទូករបស់ប្រជាជនយ៉ាងណានោះ

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Muon Mov · 17:00 សូមគោរពនិងជូនពរសម្តេចមានសុខភាពល្អនិងជីវិត (គណបក្ស ប្រជាជនកម្ពុជា) ដើម្បីសន្តិភាព និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍

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Srey Pov · 0:05 សូមគោរពជូនពរសម្តេចមានសុខភាពមាំមួន ដើម្បីបន្តការដឹកនាំ ប្រទេសមានសន្តិភាព អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ និងការរីកចំរើនរបស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាដ៏យោសាសម្តេចហ៊ុនសែន444444

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Vicheska Vicheska · 0:08 សូមគោរពជូនពរ សម្តេច មានសុខភាពល្អ បន្តដឹកនាំកម្ពុជាឆ្ពោះទៅការ រីកចំរើនជាតិរន្ត444

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Bun Chhen · 6:28 ជូនពរសម្តេចមានសុខភាព មានប្រាជ្ញាឃ្លាស់វៃ ដើម្បីមានសុខសន្តិភាពនិងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ប្រទេសជាតិយើងឲ្យបានរុងរឿងក្រឡេងទៅ។

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